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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. XII.

OR VOL. III. OF THE MODERN PART.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS AND SON, FOR SAMUEL F. BRADFORD, PHILADELPHIA.

1804.

THE

HISTORY

OF

INDIA,

OF

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

OF

KOREA,

AND OF

JAPAN AND *JEDSO.*

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY ISAAC COLLINS AND SON, FOR SAMUEL STANSBURY AND CO.

1804.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON,

THIS VOLUME

OF

MODERN UNIVERSAL HISTORY

IS,

WITH EVERY SENTIMENT OF CONSIDERATION

AND RESPECT,

INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST FAITHFUL HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

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OR THE THIRD OF THE MODERN PART.

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MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The History of Korea.

KOREA is a large oblong peninsula, situated in the most eastern part of China: it is divided from the rest of the Chinese empire by the Yellow Sea; from Tartary by a long ridge of high and inaccessible mountains, which form a strong natural rampart; on the east from Japan by the sea of that name; and on the south by the Chinese ocean.

This country has been differently divided by the Chinese monarchs, to whom it has been tributary from time immemorial. At present it consists of eight provinces, containing forty principal, besides a great number of inferior cities.

The northern part of Korea is barren, woody, and mountainous; is infested with wild beasts, and very thinly inhabited: the southern division is rich and fertile, abounding with cattle, and fowl and game of all sorts; it likewise produces flax, cotton, and silk, the two former of which are manufactured by the natives, but the last is sent to China in its unwrought state.

The sea is deep on the side of China ; but on that of Japan it is dangerous for navigation, on account of shallows. The peninsula is watered by two large rivers flowing through the whole length of it, which receive, in their course, a multitude of smaller ones. The climate is severe, and the fruits, grain, and herbage, are inferior to those of China. The commerce of Korea is limited to the two kingdoms, contiguous to its coasts. On the continental side it is carried a short distance into Tartary.

The men are well made, robust, and martial ; the women amiable. Their established religion, police, language, and government, have all a resemblance to those of China. The common people, however, have scarcely any religion among them : all the worship which they pay to their idols consists in lighting a stick of some odoriferous wood before them, and making a very low bow at leaving them. There are numerous temples in the country, and on the hills. The inhabitants are very tolerant, and the different sects never quarrel about the peculiar opinions held by each, but seem all to agree in the idea that the virtuous, of whatever denomination, will, hereafter, be made happy, and the wicked be punished.

The government of the country is monarchical and despotic ; the will of the king is law : his council consists of governors and general officers, who are obliged, at proper times, to attend him, and to be constantly in the neighbourhood of the court. The members hold their office for three years, unless dismissed for some fault.

Ki-tse, one of their first monarchs, compiled a body of laws which he caused to be promulgat-

ed through the kingdom, and which were very effectual in restraining the people from the commission of all heinous crimes. The natives always intermarry with people of their own rank. Their dead they keep three years unburied, during the whole of which period they wear mourning for a parent; but for a brother, or a more distant relation, this ceremony is observed but three months. At the funerals, they place by the side of the grave the clothes, chariots, horses, and arms of the deceased, with other articles to which he was particularly attached during his life; these are afterwards carried off by the attendants. Like the Bramins, these people study to avoid depriving any creature of life: their legal punishments are mild; and crimes which in other countries are esteemed worthy of death, are here liable only to banishment into some neighbouring island.

The houses in this country are plain and thatched; the inhabitants use no beds, but lie on mats: in supplying the wants of nature they are very moderate, whence they commonly enjoy good health. Their usual weapons were formerly the cross-bow, and long sabres; but they have now learnt the use of fire-arms from the Chinese.

The Koreans are wholly ignorant of the liberal sciences. Their literati know so little of geography, that they divide the whole world into twelve kingdoms, anciently subject to that of China, but since become independent; and their maps do not extend beyond that of Siam. When they hear Europeans talk of the many kingdoms of the different quarters of the world, they cannot forbear asking, with a smile, how

it is possible for the sun to enlighten them all, unless, indeed, the name of kingdom is given to such contemptible countries, or inconsiderable islands, as hardly deserve that of a district or hamlet.

It is generally admitted that this people are of Tartar origin, and that they were at first governed by their respective princes, till in course of time they were all subdued by the Chinese, and united into one kingdom. The annals of China record particulars of the Koreans much earlier than our common æra. These consist of irruptions made into that territory, brave repulses, involuntary submissions, and returns to independence, always under a monarchical government. Such is the present state of the Korean sovereigns relatively to the emperor of China, that, in the recesses of their palace, the former dare not engage in any measure without the concurrence of that potentate, who maintains his authority over them as their despotic lord.

The Chinese history, confirmed by the calculation of the eclipses which it records, fixes the origin of the Korean monarchy to the time of Ki-tse. That prince was famous for his wisdom, but was dethroned by his nephew Chew (afterwards emperor,) and imprisoned till the reign of Vu-vang, the founder of the third dynasty.

B. C. 1122. From this time, till the close of the seventeenth century, the history of the Korean monarchy presents few circumstances that can either amuse or instruct. Korea has been to China and Japan, what the island of Sicily was to the Carthaginians and Romans, a species of nursery in which its inhabitants were trained to arms. But in ceding to them the

field of battle, the Koreans, like the Sicilians, have frequently been drawn into their wars; which produced intestine broils among the people, with all their attendant horrors.

Whenever the sovereign of Korea dies, the emperor of China immediately deputes two grandees to confer respecting the successor to the title, who receives the investiture upon his knees, and makes certain presents to the commissioners. He is then obliged to send an ambassador to the Chinese court, with the usual tribute and homage, which are paid in the most humiliating manner, by prostration, and knocking the forehead against the ground, before the imperial throne.

In the year 1694, the reigning prince, being dissatisfied with and repenting of some changes which he had made in his family, sent, by an ambassador, the following remarkable petition to the emperor Kang-hi: "I, your majesty's "subject, am a most unfortunate man. I had "been a considerable time without an heir, "when one of my concubines presented me with "a son, on which account I thought myself "obliged to advance her to a higher rank, and "from this false step have sprung all my mis-"fortunes. I obliged my queen Minchi to retire "from my court, and raised the concubine "Chang-chi into her place, as I failed not then "of informing your majesty. Having since that "period reflected that Minchi had been made "queen through your majesty's means, that she "long governed my family, and that she assisted "me in every important duty, I acknowledge "that I ought to have treated her in a more ho-"nourable manner. I therefore wish, at pre-

" sent, to re-establish Minchi in her former dig-
" nity of queen, and make Chang-chi return to
" her condition of concubine, by which means
" good order will be restored into my family, and
" a reform of morals be happily introduced into
" my kingdom.

" I, your subject, though I have had the mis-
" fortune to stain the honour of my ancestors,
" have nevertheless served your majesty during
" twenty years, and acknowledge myself in-
" debted for all that I enjoy to your goodness,
" as my only shield and protection. I have no
" concern, either public or private, which I
" would wish to have concealed from your ma-
" jesty: and this is the chief motive which has
" induced me to take the liberty thus earnestly
" to solicit your majesty on this point. I blush,
" I must confess, at my boldness in thus trans-
" gressing the bounds of my duty; but as it is a
" matter of such high concern to the happiness
" of my family and kingdom, I have ventured
" to lay this my humble request before you."

This petition the emperor referred to the tribunal of ceremonies; and it being approved by them, a commissary was dispatched to the court of Korea to restore the queen Minchi to her former rank: but in the following year, the imprudent prince, having presumed to send a second address to the court of Pekin in terms less respectful, was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand ounces of silver. These instances will shew the extreme subjection which the kings of Korea are under to the Chinese emperors. When one of these latter sovereigns sends an ambassador to Korea, the king is obliged to go in person, attended by all his guards and a nu-

merous retinue of his household, beyond the limits of his capital, to meet him: whilst, on the other hand, the deputies of the Korean prince to the court of Pekin are received with very little ceremony, and are even obliged to give place to a mandarin of the first rank. They are lodged in some private house, and kept under an honorary guard, which never leaves them, but watches over and gives an account of all their actions, to certain officers of the court.

CHAPTER II.

The History of Japan and Jedso.

THE kingdom or empire of Japan comprehends three large islands contiguous to each other, of greater extent in length than in width, almost joining at some of their extremities, and surrounded by a very tempestuous sea, filled with rocks, shallows, whirlpools and abysses, which swallow up with a terrifying noise the ships that come within their vortex. This large empire, is, by Europeans, called Japan; but the natives call it Niphon, from the name of the largest island of which it is composed. It seems to have been separated by nature from all other countries: and it was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that it was discovered by some Portuguese merchants trading to China, who were driven to its coasts by a storm. The reports of the first adventurers induced others of the Portuguese to visit it, and carry missionaries thither, whose skill in the arts and sciences procured them a favourable reception.

Very few countries can boast of such great riches as Japan. Nature has here been prodigal of her treasures, such as grain, fruit, vegetables, pasturage, and tame and wild animals, including even elephants. The extensive forests are filled with the most valuable trees, and the sea and rivers abound with fish. Here are hot springs, minerals of every species, from

gold to lead ; grey amber, coral, and fine pearls. The iron tools fabricated in this country are dearer than those made of copper; and the greatest art of the natives consists in tempering their steel, of which they make very fine and keen scimitars, cutlasses, and other weapons, which are capable of receiving an edge beyond those of any other nation in the world ; but the exportation of most of these is forbidden under severe penalties.

Exclusive of the provisions furnished by nature, some are extracted from substances which seem little likely to yield such productions : as bark of trees, the moss which covers the rocks, and the roots of insipid plants, from which the natives have the art of drawing a nutritive property. While the men are thus fertilising the stony mountains, the women are plunging many fathoms into the ocean, in search of shells and marine plants.

These advantages are balanced by inconveniences. The summer is prodigiously hot, and the winter cold in an equal extreme. During summer, the thunder storms are terrific, and accompanied by rain that falls in torrents. While these, however, make dreadful ravages, the showers and sea-breezes temper the heat of the season. In no part of the world are there known such frequent and tremendous earthquakes ; but the natives are so much accustomed to these as to feel no apprehensions of alarm, unless they chance to be very terrible indeed, in which state they sometimes bury whole towns under their ruins. Man soon grows fearless of danger to which he is perpetually exposed, and the habit once acquired enables him to live equally contented on

a volcano, or in the threatening depths of mines and quarries. These calamities are said to make the people superstitious: the Japanese ascribe them to the displeasure of their deities, or to some malevolent demons sent on purpose to punish them; but the most generally received opinion is, that the evil spirit is the author of them. In either case, they have recourse to extraordinary sacrifices, in some of which they even proceed to offer human victims; taking for this purpose none but the vilest and most abandoned wretches.

From time immemorial, the religion of Japan has been pagan and idolatrous. The Japanese believe the world to be eternal; that the gods whom they worship were once men, who lived many hundred thousand years on earth, and whom their piety, penance, and voluntary death, exalted to the highest state of existence.

They are divided into three sects: that of Xinto, who worship the ancient idols of the nation; that of Budzo, which has introduced an infinite number of foreign idols, particularly the worship of Fo; and that of the moralists, or philosophers, resembling the literati of China, and like them inwardly despising the established worship and the popular superstitions. Every individual follows the religion he prefers, no compulsion being used in this point, either by the government or by parents. In the same family, the husband is frequently of one sect, the wives of another, and the children of a third.

Amida and Xaca (or, as the Indians call him, Shaka) are the chief and ancient deities, who are considered by the Japanese not only as dis-

pensers of longevity and present good, but of future rewards and punishments.

Cambadoxi is another celebrated god, of more modern date, to whom they ascribe many extraordinary feats, some of which are not greatly to his credit; but he became a penitent, and carried his austerities to the highest pitch. He caused his sepulchre to be dug during his life, which is still the object of an extensive pilgrimage. The invention of writing and many other extraordinary feats are attributed to him, for which he has had a vast number of temples erected by his own command. He is thought to be still alive, and is occasionally invoked: and on the anniversary of the day of his interment, extraordinary worship is paid him.—Besides these, they have multitudes of other heroes provided with temples, monasteries, priestesses and votaries. All these sects, however different in other respects, agree in observing and enforcing the five following maxims: 1. Not to kill, nor to eat any thing that is killed. 2. Not to steal. 3. Not to defile another's bed. 4. Not to lye. 5. Not to drink wine.

A rigorous state of celibacy is enjoined on all the regular priests and priestesses. There is also a secular clergy, composing a perfect hierarchy, of which the dairo, or ecclesiastical emperor, is the head. The populace have much more confidence in the regular clergy, on account of the austerity of their lives. These pretend, by the sufferings which they inflict upon themselves, and their fasts, not only to acquire merit and exempt themselves from future torments, but likewise to extend their supererogatory deserts to the pious for whom they pray. The appalling

descriptions which they give of the tortures of the damned, the horrific pictures that cover the walls of their temples, inspire a salutary awe in the great as well as the common people, together with a dread of vice; sentiments which are not without their advantages to the bonzes, whose merits their followers endeavour to appropriate by means of presents.

Their temples are magnificent and numerous; the monasteries which belong to them are agreeable and spacious, abounding with the conveniences of life. The people seem to measure the power of the idol by its size; for there are some which even surpass the gigantic stature. Their holidays commence with processions, chanting, and perfuming, and finish with a panegyric of the god, and with feasting.

Christianity was at first favourably received by the Japanese, who observed a great conformity between their religion and that which the jesuits taught; but a sudden reverse, which is supposed to have originated in the jealousy of the bonzes, caused the Christian religion to be proscribed and persecuted, and it may now be considered as annihilated in Japan.

The emperors of this kingdom were formerly monarchs and sovereign pontiffs, under the title of dairos. Their person and character were then held so sacred, that the slightest resistance to their orders was regarded with sentiments of horror, and punished as a crime committed against God himself. These princes were in some measure adored by their subjects, and conducted themselves as a species of divinities. They never set their feet upon the ground, nor was the sun or wind suffered to approach them: they

never wore the same clothes a second time, nor took their food twice from the same plates; their hair, beard, or nails, were never cut, but for the purpose of being preserved as relics; the titles assumed by them had a tendency to blasphemy, and the honours paid them to idolatry. Absorbed in this excess of luxurious indolence, the dairos delegated the whole care of the military and civil government to their prime minister, with the title of *cubo*, as general of the forces. This office was usually bestowed upon the youngest brother; the eldest was always heir to the throne. One of these cubos deprived the dairo of all civil authority: since which time the dairos have been considered as the heads of religion, and arbiters of ecclesiastical affairs; while the cubo disposes, with absolute authority, of all concerns, civil and military.

The dairo, notwithstanding, continues to live in the same splendour as his ancestors. The cubo is obliged to pay him a sort of homage, as if he governed only as his lieutenant. This homage consists in travelling, at least once in five years, from Jeddo to Meaco, to make a pompous visit to the dairo. There he renders him his duty in person, offers him magnificent presents, and acknowledges that it is from his family he holds the imperial crown. He is obliged to marry a daughter of the dairo's if he has one of a proper age. She is crowned empress, and then presented to the emperor as the seal and confirmation of the imperial power.

All the princes, whether tributaries or vassals, are constrained to reside at Jeddo six months in the year. Their eldest sons are educated and remain at court till the emperor sends them

away; their wives and other children accompany their father during his continuance at Jeddo, and cannot be detained after his departure. Every year they renew their oath of fidelity, and in their own principalities they are surrounded with spies. To prevent revolts, the emperor perpetually maintains a hundred thousand men, whom he keeps employed by turns in various public works, on the roads, canals, and other places, as well as numerous garrisons in the cities. The streets are shut at night: the magistrate is responsible for every occurrence, and for a fault committed in a single house the whole neighbourhood is punished.

The army of Japan consists of one hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, including the garrisons, all well disciplined, and in general robust men. Their arms are muskets, bows and arrows, the scimitar, and dagger. All the youth are brought up to the use of military weapons, and are every year called upon for public proofs of their expertness. At these exercises, they are divided into two small armies, having each their standard, and the images and statues of the gods are also carried in the front to animate their courage. They begin by slinging stones, shooting arrows, and discharging muskets, till they come to the attack with sword in hand, and it rarely happens that these annual sports are not attended with the loss of many lives.

The revenues of the cubo, indeed, exceed all belief. He requires immense sums to pay his troops, spies, pensioners, and to support the expences of a court, perhaps the most splendid in the universe. He has twenty palaces on the great road which extends from Jeddo to Meaco,

all superbly furnished, although he inhabits them only once in five or seven years, when he goes to pay his homage to the dairo.

The laws of this country are rigorous and extremely severe; almost every offence is punished with death, and the only difference in this sentence consists in its being more or less ignominious, or the execution of it more or less cruel. The least disgraceful is for the criminal to be allowed to rip up his own body, at a signal given by the emperor. Those who, in this situation, hesitate, expose themselves to suffer additional tortures as well as death. Opposition to the edicts of the emperor, and other high crimes, are all punished, not only by the death of the delinquent, but of his father, children, brothers, and all his male relations; and though these should be at a considerable distance from each other, measures are taken for them all to be executed on the same day, and at the same hour. The punishment annexed to high treason and rebellion extends throughout the whole neighbourhood in which the criminal resides; for the law supposes them all guilty, in permitting such an enemy to the government to live among them. The mothers, daughters, and sisters of the common offenders are sold as slaves for a certain period, which is fixed according to the nature of the crime; but in case of treason, the wives and daughters also suffer death.

Murder, robbery, adultery, &c. are punished with death. The most trifling offences expose the culprit to the bastinado, and to gashes with a sabre on the head or limbs. In this manner also are those corrected who quarrel, slander, wilfully

injure their neighbours, defraud, or assert a falsehood before a magistrate. Banishment and transportation into desert islands are likewise usual. The tortures, when not anticipated by a voluntary death, consist of being nailed on a cross with the head downwards, or cut to pieces alive, by the executioner.

The religion of the Japanese familiarises them to the idea of death, and renders it not only indifferent but desirable: they consider suicide as a meritorious act, which assimilates them to their deities, and makes them worthy of the rewards of a future state; and there is no country in which this detestable practice is so frequent.

The Japanese are said to possess an assemblage of virtues and vices that seem incompatible. They are modest, patient, civil, docile, industrious, laborious, punctual to their word, detest all fraud, are attached only to innocent pleasures, and abhor gluttony, drunkenness, and indecent conversation: at the same time they are ambitious, proud, cruel, insensible to the misery of their fellow-creatures, and are persuaded that none are unfortunate who are not culpable. No man on earth is so vindictive as a Japanese; if he cannot find means of killing his enemy, he will destroy himself through vexation. The women in this respect imitate the men.

They are said to be fond of study and reading, and to have some knowledge of history, astronomy and geometry; their universities are well stored with professors and books, and resorted to by a great number of students. These establishments are commonly very rich and well endowed; the bonzes who preside in

them being for the most part noblemen's children, who incline to a studious life as the most respectable mode of living upon their small fortunes, increasing the common fund by their patrimony, which they leave to it after their death.

They have no written laws, nor systems of physic; but guide themselves in the former point by reason, and in the latter by experience; and though their skill in medicine is but superficial, yet the professors of that art are held in high esteem and gain great fortunes. Their physicians prescribe bathing and drinking mineral waters; and as in health, their drink is always warm, in their illness, they take it cold. In surgery they are still less advanced, and never let blood but in a sort of colic, when the operation is performed by pricking the part afflicted with a fine needle in several places, which in general gives instant relief. These instruments are made of gold and silver, exquisitely slender, finely polished, and well tempered; and though the country abounds with expert artists, able to make them in the highest perfection, yet none are allowed to vend them but such as are licensed by the emperor. Their colour of mourning is white: they sit down as a mark of respect and honour; and blacken their teeth and nails, suffering the latter to grow to a great length.

Their poetry is said to be energetic, and their music slow, solemn, and grand. Painting also is not unknown among them. Their language is copious and expressive, and well adapted to all their wants. While the Chinese abridge their words as much as possible, the Japanese

prolong theirs. They are good arithmeticians, and better printers than their neighbours; but inferior to them in the manufacture and use of gunpowder, though their masters in all sorts of cabinet work, and ornamental furniture of every kind. These curiosities are only to be procured in Europe from the Dutch, who have preserved their trade with Japan, on very disagreeable and humiliating conditions.

The people of this country train their youth from their earliest years to write and read, by an easy and expeditious method. Their plan of private education is excellent: they never inflict corporal punishments on children, nor make use of any severe means, but endeavour to allure them to the love of learning by praises, little rewards, and other mild incentives, which seldom fail of answering their end. They take no less pains, as they advance in years, to inspire them with the love of glory, and contempt of danger and death; and to inure them to hunger, cold, pains, labour, and to bear with patience all the miseries and inconveniences of life. They are careful to inculcate in them an abhorrence against lying and liars, and every kind of fraud, and to kindle in their youthful minds a love of modesty, sincerity and fidelity.

All their public edifices are ornamented with towers, which gradually diminish towards the top, and are decorated with streamers and other ornaments. Private houses are chiefly made of wood, and are low built on account of earthquakes. Each has a small detached stone recess, to secure their valuable effects from fires, which are very frequent, and which they have no means of extinguishing except by pulling

down all the surrounding habitations. They exhibit great simplicity but much neatness in their furniture and table. Their cookery is good, and often delicate. Both sexes dress nearly alike; but the men wear a dagger, and their ceremonious colour is black. The women live in a very retired manner, employing themselves in works of taste, and in the education of their children. They never interfere in any of the husband's concerns, not even by suggesting advice: all their business is to please him, and to be faithful to him on pain of death.

Their holidays, as in every other country, are noisy and accompanied with music. Marriages are solemnised in the presence of a bonze, at the foot of some idol. The bride, after she has given her consent, throws the dolls and toys, that served her for amusement, into the fire. Till the time of the ceremony, she has never been seen by her husband; the relations or friends, particularly the women, concluding the match, which is attended with no expence to the father of the bride, as she has no portion. The poor bury their dead, but the rich burn theirs. The bonzes attend at the funerals. It is not uncommon, on the demise of a nobleman, for twenty of his favourites to kill themselves, in order to serve him in the other world; these rip themselves up on the spot, and are thrown on the same pile with the deceased: this sacrifice is an agreement made during the life of their patron, and procures them his favour. The tombs, which are at a distance from the cities, are decorated and rendered very pleasant, as the natives frequently resort to them in honour of their ancestry. When

there is any festive meeting in the family, they never omit going to the sepulchres of their ancestors, requesting them to be present at it, and at the repast, they leave places vacant for them among the living.

They have a great variety of festivals on the anniversary of their gods, which are celebrated with the greatest pomp and grandeur: at these, all that belong to each respective sect, of every description, appear in the richest dresses at the places of rendezvous, from which they go in procession to the temples, with vocal and instrumental music. The statues and emblems of their gods are carried with great pomp; some have stately pageants borne upon men's shoulders, on which are exhibited various representations of their deities, and their exploits, either by means of some machinery, or by actors in suitable dresses. The ceremonies performed in their temples are various, and conclude with a sort of sermon preached by a bonze. The rest of the day is spent in feastings, dancing, racing, tournaments, illuminations, and other rejoicings, and on such days nothing is allowed to be sold; in cases of necessity, on these occasions, they will give freely whatever is wanted, but refuse to take any price for it. The anniversary of Cambadoxi's burying himself alive is kept with great funeral pomp: as soon as the gates are opened, the procession crowds in with a kind of desperate frenzy; numbers are trampled to death, and many throw themselves upon the ground for that purpose, esteeming it an act of martyrdom. The sermon in the praise of that deity, which is delivered in the night, is always accompanied with most dismal outcries, so that

one would imagine all his votaries were about to be massacred.

In Japan, nature seems to have delighted in uniting the most horrific objects to the most beautiful. Her works are no where so diversified; she at once gives birth to the most charming and the most terrifying productions; she hollows the tremendous precipice, ingulfs rivers, causes fountains to rise, receives mountains into her capacious bosom, and in their stead returns a lake. Her secret-treasures are here revealed, and stand exposed to the sight of the astonished inhabitants. The searching eye of curiosity penetrates into the immense laboratories, of which the furnaces are volcanoes.

As there is no other country in the world so subject to earthquakes, none possesses so many minerals, and compositions of metals from a state of fusion. There are no fewer than eight volcanoes in the empire, which alternately flame and expire, burning under snows that cover them, and pouring forth torrents, some of boiling water, and others of water cold as ice. Amidst a great number of cataracts, there is one similar to that of the Nile.

Among their animal curiosities must be mentioned those called *piercers*, a species of white ant, armed with four feelers, with which they pierce, in a very short time, whatever obstructs them, without ever giving way to any thing except stones and metals. They do not carry on their depredations above ground, but under galleries which they form in the earth. Their devastation is frequently perceived before they are suspected to be near. The traveller, while journeying through the woods of Japan, is re-

galed with the melody of the nightingales, whose modulation is far sweeter than those of any other country. A gilt, shining, magnificently speckled night-moth, which is found here, is considered as an elegant ornament, suspended in the hair of the ladies.

If travellers may be believed with respect to the vast extent of the cities, their amazing population, and the number and magnificence of their palaces, no country is to be compared, in these points, to Japan. The roads ascend by a gentle declivity to the summits of the highest mountains: the bold and simple construction of the bridges astonishes the observer: the enormous dykes, intended to confine the water of the rivers, are the effects of much labour and skill. In all kinds of toy-work, they are much superior to Europeans. They practise chemistry, in which they have made some discoveries. Of a thick juice, carried thither by the Dutch and Chinese, mixed with a sort of Japan earth saturated with amber and camphor, is made a substance called *cachou*, which they use to clean and fasten the teeth, and render the breath pleasant and agreeable.

The Japanese trace their origin to the gods, and date the antiquity of their nation at several hundred thousand years. Some writers conjecture them to have been of Chinese descent, either from rebels driven out of China, or faithful subjects banished by an usurper; or from a colony of three hundred young girls brought thither by a physician, under pretence of having the plants proper to bestow immortality gathered by pure hands, which he had been commanded to procure by an emperor of

China. To judge, however, by the countenance, the complexion, the opinions, and other particularities of the natives, it would seem that the Japanese have been composed from people of several nations, and even of some distant ones, carried thither by commerce, curiosity, or shipwreck.

Kæmpfer has taken great pains to investigate the history of the Japanese according to their own accounts, and has given an elaborate abstract, divided into three epochs; the fabulous, the doubtful, and the certain.

The first extends from beyond the Mosaic æra of the creation to the period when the empire is fabled to have been governed by seven celestial spirits successively; the last of whom having wedded a goddess, there succeeded a race of five demigods, one of which is said to have reigned 250,000 years, and another more than three times that term.

The second, or uncertain epoch, is by Kæmpfer interwoven with the Chinese history: this part of his work demonstrates that the Japanese acknowledge their government and civilization to have been derived from China. Sin Noo, one of the Chinese monarchs admitted by the Japanese into their annals, is represented by the head of a bull, or at least with two horns, and as having taught the use of agriculture and herbs. This, perhaps, is the simple and natural origin of the Jupiter Ammon, and similar idols of antiquity.

The third and last period begins with the hereditary succession of the ecclesiastical emperors, from the year 660 before the Christian æra, to the year of Christ 1585, during which 107

princes of the same line governed in Japan. The annals which preserve the names and succession of these princes may probably be very interesting to the Japanese, because they fix the period of several events, circumstances, and customs, the dates of which, when they regard themselves, are objects of general curiosity to all nations: but from Europeans they can claim little or no attention; a mere sketch of a few prominent circumstances will be sufficient.

The Japanese did not apply themselves to the pursuit of agriculture till about thirty years before the Christian æra; hence it has been concluded that their nation is not extremely ancient. About a century after, a new island emerged from the ocean; upon this they erected a temple, dedicated to the Neptune of Japan, and it is remarkable that earthquakes, so common in other parts of the empire, are never felt in this island.

A. D. 71.

Buretz was a cruel tyrant, who delighted in bloodshed and the most savage barbarity; his reign was short, but history does not record the manner of its termination.

A. D. 499.

Kimmei was a religious prince, but very much addicted to idolatry. He caused idols to be carved in China, and to be fixed up in various parts of the country. To this superstition he is said to have been inclined by the miraculous apparition of some of the idols in China and other parts of India; particularly in his own dominions, where the god Amida was seen near a pond, environed with golden rays. To this deity many great and important miracles are ascribed.

A. D. 540.

Fit-atzu was of an opposite character to Buretz: he ordered every living thing to be set at liberty at the end of each month; and those who had no animals were enjoined to obtain some, that an opportunity might be afforded them of giving proof of a benevolent disposition. He bore so great and invincible an aversion to all the idols, that he took, burnt, and destroyed them, whenever they could be found. A. D. 572.

In the reign of Dsiomè was born Gienno-giosa, founder of the mountain-bonzes; and in the same year a comet was visible for a considerable time. A. D. 631.

The matsuri, which resemble some festivals in our own country, were established at this time. The splendour and magnificence displayed on these occasions are astonishing: the most pompous processions; theatrical representations, balls, concerts, and diversions of every kind, are the common amusement of these seasons of joy and festivity. A. D. 672.

The cities and provinces sometimes change their tutelary gods, on account of public calamities of any kind. Those places which have been the greatest sufferers degrade their peculiar patrons, and adopt others who have protected their worshippers.

The cubo's authority began about this period to detach itself from that of the dairo. We must remark also that before that time, women had occasionally filled the throne of Japan, and their reigns had not been the least prosperous, nor the least illustrious. A. D. 1184.

Ookimatz stripped the ecclesiastical emperors of all temporal power, and made himself independent of them in se- A. A. 1558.

cular matters, except the payment of a certain formal homage. In this reign was a remarkable earthquake, which continued to repeat its shocks during a whole year.

A. D. 1630. In the reign of the empress Nio-te, the Chinese, who had for a considerable time been denied admission into Japan, on account of their suffering the native princes to be dethroned and destroyed by the victorious Tartars, were again permitted to trade to the country, though not to settle at Niphon. At this time, the Christian religion had been propagated with surprising success through the empire, and was embraced and favoured by so many of the petty princes, and even by some of the secular monarchs, that it gave birth to an universal persecution against them, and one of the bloodiest that ever was known in any age or country. About the end of this reign, the famous rebellion of the Christians happened at Simabara, in the province of Fifen, which brought on the utter extirpation of Christianity. The secular monarchs were the chiefs of both parties, who acted according to their own inclinations and interests, and not by any directions from the ecclesiastical throne, of which they were now become entirely independent.

The twelfth year of the reign of this princess was attended with a dreadful famine, of which many perished; and two years afterward she resigned the crown to her younger brother.

A. D. 1663. Kinsen instituted an enquiry into the state of all the cities, towns, and villages throughout the empire, with a view of ascertaining the belief and sect of each family, and each individual. In the sixth year of his

reign the capital of Jedso was nearly destroyed by fire, kindled wilfully to injure the merchants, who, in a season of scarcity, had withheld their commodities and provisions. The same year was remarkable for a long continued drought, succeeded by a famine, during which the emperor, at his own cost, supplied the poor with rice. In the ensuing year, many violent storms and inundations are recorded to have occurred in most of the maritime provinces; as well as a great mortality both of men and cattle. It was in this reign that the ceremony of trampling on the cross, in abhorrence of the Christian religion, was instituted, which is thus described by professor Thunberg. "A few days after the Ja-"panese new-year's-day, the horrid ceremony "was performed of trampling on such images as "represent the cross, and the Virgin Mary with "a child. These images, which are made of "copper, are about two inches in length; and "the ceremony is performed for the purpose of "imprinting on every one a detestation of the "Christian doctrine, and of the Portuguese who "attempted to propagate it, and at the same time "to discover whether any remains of it are left "among the Japanese." The trampling is per-"formed in such places as were formerly fre-"quented by Christians, for four days successive-"ly, after which the images are laid by till the "following year. Every one, even the smallest "child, is obliged to be at this ceremony. At all "places overseers are present, who assemble the "people by rotation in certain houses, calling "over every one by name, and seeing that the "ceremony is duly performed. Adults walk "over the images, and even infants are put with

"their feet upon them." As soon as the Dutch ships arrive at Japan, the crews are obliged to deliver up all their bibles and prayer-books, which are nailed down in a chest, and not returned till their departure. These annals of the emperors, both ecclesiastical and military, end in the year 1692. Since that period, a succession of five cubos, or secular emperors, and as many dairos, or ecclesiastical emperors, have filled the throne of Japan, without any thing particularly remarkable in their lives or fortunes. When Thunberg left Japan in 1776, FIGASI *jamma no Yn* was dairo, and YE FAR *Koo* was cubo. From that time, we are unacquainted with the history of this empire.

JEDSO.

AT the northern extremity of the Japan islands lies the territory of JEDSO, a state tributary to the Japanese empire, from which it is divided by an arm of the sea of difficult passage. The inhabitants are strong, robust, and are almost in a savage state, having long bristly beards and hairy bodies. They pay their tribute in furs, feathers, and silver. They live by hunting and fishing; their canoes are sewed together with pack-thread, without the use of any iron-work whatever, and they are skilful in the use of the bow and lance.

They seem to have a confused notion of some First Cause, and pay great respect and homage to the sun and moon, considering them as the authors of all good. They adore an invisible king, to whom they suppose the forests, mountains, rivers, and seas are subject. They have no regular form of worship; and neither priests,

nor exterior religious ceremonies. Polygamy is practised among them, but one only of their women bears the title of wife. In their temper they are impatient, quarrelsome, and revengeful. Their masters, the Japanese, find it difficult to preserve their dominion over them, and are obliged constantly to keep a considerable body of soldiers on their coast. They have neither police nor regular government. Their children are born white, but as they grow up they become yellowish, and then brown. The females wear their hair in buckles, and paint their lips and eye-brows, and are very modest in their dress; the care of the household affairs is committed to them, which they conduct with much propriety and neatness.

The south part of Jedso was invaded by the first cubo, or secular monarch of Japan, who entrusted the government of it to the prince of Matsumai, a large island in the streights of Sangaar. Some time after this conquest, the natives, growing weary of a foreign yoke, fell suddenly upon the garrison, and destroyed them all to a man. In consequence of this revolt, the prince sent over a powerful army to demand satisfaction, and in case of refusal, to proceed to military execution. The sovereign of Jedso, alarmed at these preparations, disclaimed all connection with the rebels, and delivered up twenty of them to be executed. This act pacified the prince of Matsumai, for the occasion; and he has ever since claimed from the inhabitants of Jedso certain annual presents.

The secular emperors of Japan style themselves lords of the land of Jedso, and the princes of Matsumai pay them homage for this country;

but their dominion probably extends no farther than to the southern coasts, and the inhabitants of all the rest live under the government of their own princes, not only as independent, but perhaps even unknown to the Japanese.

On the coast of the Higher Jedso are two small islands called the Silver and Gold islands; names which have tempted Europeans to visit them in quest of these metals, but hitherto without success. The king of Spain having been informed that they lie westward of America, and consequently in that part of the world which by the pope's division was assigned to him, as all those to the east were to the king of Portugal, sent an expert pilot to seek for them in the year 1620, but this attempt proved fruitless. The Dutch made a similar enterprise twice within the succeeding twenty years; but with the same result; and the captain of one of the ships in this expedition having ventured to go on shore with some men in a Japanese port, they were all seized, confined in irons, and conveyed to Jeddo, where they were treated with as much severity as if their intention had been to betray or invade the empire; though they declared that they came with no other view than to make discoveries on the coasts of Tartary and America, and were driven to these parts by stress of weather.

CHAPTER III.

VIEW OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA WITH REGARD TO ITS COMMERCE.

INDIA has in all ages excited the attention of the curious and the learned. Its rare productions and manufactures allured the merchant; while the mild and inoffensive religion of its inhabitants, and the manners and habits which it inculcated, attracted the notice of the philosopher. The structure of its language too is remarkable, and has a claim to originality. "It had," says major Rennel, "been happy for "the Indians if they had not attracted the notice "of a class of men more inimical to the hap- "piness of mankind; for the softness and effe- "minacy induced by the climate, and the yield- "ing nature of the soil, which produces almost "spontaneously, invited the attacks of their "more hardy neighbours, and rendered them "an easy prey to every foreign invader." Hence we find in the progress of their history, that they have yielded to the superior prowess of every enemy. Hence we find them successively conquered by the Persians, the Patans, and the Moguls; and it is probable that, like the Chinese, they have seldom had a dynasty of kings from their own countrymen. Accounts at the distance of two thousand years represent the Indians as a people who stood very high in point of civilization: but to judge from their ancient monuments, they had not carried the imitative arts to any thing like the degree of perfection attain-

ed by the Greeks and Romans, or even by the Egyptians. Both the Hindoos and Chinese appear to have cultivated these arts as far as they were requisite for useful purposes, but never to have approached to any degree of perfection, as to taste, or boldness of design.

The principal monuments of Hindoo superstition are found in the peninsula; hence it has been supposed that this was the original seat of that religion. Others, perhaps with more probability, suppose it to have originated on the banks of the Ganges. Monuments of a worship apparently anterior to the Hindoo, exist in the caves of Salsette and Elephanta, two islands on the western coast of India: these consist of apartments of extensive dimensions, excavated from the rock, and decorated with figures and columns.

India was but little known to the Greeks until the time of Alexander's expedition, about three hundred and twenty-seven years before Christ. Herodotus appears to have heard indistinctly of the western part of it, and that only from its being tributary to Persia. He mentions the Indians as resembling in manners the Bactrians, their neighbours, and as a most valiant people; but he does not appear to have been acquainted with the Ganges, which became so famous within a century after his time.

Alexander's expedition furnished the Greeks with a more extensive knowledge of India, although he traversed only the tract watered by the Indus and its various branches and adjunct rivers. But the spirit of enquiry had now gone forth, and the long residence of Megastenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at Palibothra, the capital of the Prasii, furnished the Grecians with

the principal part of the accounts of India which are to be found in Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian; for Megastenes kept a journal respecting India in general, during his several years' residence there, which account existed in Arrian's time. His embassy was about three hundred years before the Christian æra.

The communication by land between the Syrian empire and India ceased very early; for Bactria soon became independent, and by these means, the link of the chain that connected India was broken. The Indian trade was about the same time transferred from Tyre to Alexandria, where it flourished until Egypt became a Roman province, and was continued on a more extensive scale under the Romans themselves; nor did it forsake Alexandria, till the re-discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good-Hope.

This traffic opened to the Egyptians and Romans a knowledge of the coasts and productions of India. By comparing Arrian's history, we are surprised to see how little alteration the Hindoos have undergone, in the space of two thousand years, allowing for the effect of foreign conquests. These, however, could not but have produced fewer changes here than they would have done any-where else; for customs, which in every country require a greater or less degree of veneration, are here rendered sacred by their connection with and subserviency to religion, the rites of which are interwoven with the ordinary occurrences of life. To this, and to the separation from the rest of mankind inculcated by the Braminical precepts, we are to ascribe the long duration of the Hindoo religion and customs,

which are particularly described in the course of their history, and which are only to be extirpated together with the people among whom they prevail. These, indeed, have been proof against the enthusiasm and cruelty of Mohammedan conquerors; and in some instances have even taught a lesson of moderation to those conquerors, who at length saw no danger in a religion that admitted no proselytes.

The following particulars will illustrate the manners and customs of the ancient Indians, and bear evidence to the fact, that they have varied but little, from the period when they were first known to Europeans, to the present time.

1. The slender make of their bodies, and their living on vegetable food. 2. The distribution into classes, perpetuation of trades in the same families, and their very early marriages. 3. The men wearing ear-rings, parti-coloured shoes, veils, and painting their faces. 4. The principal people having umbrellas carried before them, using two-handed swords, and bows drawn by the feet. 5. The mode of taking elephants, and their manufacture of cotton. 6. The wooden houses, built on the banks of large rivers.

There is no reason to doubt that the Hindoo or Braminical religion was universal over Hindostan before the time of Alexander. But although there might be an uniformity of religion, there were many distinct languages; and history gives us the most positive assurances, that India was divided into a number of kingdoms and states, from the time of Herodotus to that of Akbar. It is probable that the almost universality of religion, and the union of so large a portion of this vast globe under the fa-

mily of Timur-Bek or Tamerlane, have occasioned an idea, though erroneous, that the Mogul dynasty was always under one head.

But whatever kind of division may have taken place in the rest of Hindostan, there appears to have been generally a large empire or kingdom, occupying the principal part of that immense valley or plain through which the Ganges takes its course, the capital of which has fluctuated between Delhi and Patan, as the limits of the empire have varied.

The trade from the western world to India, which has ever enriched those by whom it has been pursued, has often changed hands and been turned into different channels. A passion for Indian manufacture and products has actuated the people of every age in lower Asia, as well as in the civilised parts of Europe. In this trade, the Persian and Arabian gulfs opened an easy passage, and certain traditions in India warrant the belief that from time immemorial there has been an intercourse between Egypt and Hindostan. Alexandria held its rank as an emporium of commerce even after Egypt became a Roman province, and preserved it in a considerable degree till the re-discovery of the passage round the south point of Africa, about three hundred years ago, turned the bulk of the Indian trade into an entirely new channel, from which it is not likely ever to be diverted.*

* Had the French, however, been allowed to retain possession of Egypt, the ancient channel of Indian commerce would probably have been restored, and the circumnavigation of the Cape gradually abandoned.

A. D. 79. Berenice continued to be the port of outfit for the Roman East-India trade in the time of Pliny, who details the account of the navigation to India with many curious particulars, from which it appears, that it was a complaint even in his time that the trade to India drained Europe of its riches.

The notices which are here referred to must be considered rather as transient views of the ancient state of Hindostan, with some general account of manners and customs, than as a history. Indeed, there is no known history of Hindostan before the period of the Mohammedan conquest; for either the Hindoos kept no regular records, or these have been all destroyed. From their traditions concerning Alexander's expedition we learn, however, that he fought a great battle with the emperor of Hindostan near Delhi, and, though victorious, retired to Persia across the northern mountains.

It is chiefly to Persian pens that we are indebted for that portion of Indian history we possess. The celebrated Mahommed Ferishta, early in the seventeenth century, compiled a history of Hindostan from various materials, collected from authors of that nation.

The most valuable part of this history is supposed to be posterior to the first Mohammedan conquests about the year 1000; and the following rapid sketch of it will fix in the mind of the reader an idea of the successive changes in the state of the empire of Hindostan, which from a pure Hindoo government became a Mohammedan one, and continued to be so under the various dynasties of monarchs from Persia and Tartary until the beginning of the last century;

these princes, moreover, adding to the original country of Hindostan all the other provinces situated within the Ganges. This unwieldy state then dropping to pieces, an anarchy succeeded, which, in many parts of it, is scarcely at present dissolved: and which had nearly given rise to a new Hindoo empire under the Mahrattas, had not this revolution been prevented by the intervention of foreign powers.

Mahmood, the first Mohammedan conqueror who made any establishment, found little less difficulty in subduing the country than the latter conquerors did when so many kingdoms were united under the Patan emperors. Hindostan, even under the Moguls, may be considered only as a collection of tributary kingdoms, each accustomed to look no farther than to its own particular viceroy, and of course ever ready to rebel when the imbecility of the emperor and the ambition of the viceroy presented a favourable conjuncture. Hence the small and powerless resistance that was made to the arms of Tamerlane, Nadir Shah, and other conquerors, although so many provinces were at those times united under one prince.

Before Mahmood, commonly stiled Sultan, began his first expedition into India, he reduced Bukharia, from the sovereign of which country his ancestor had revolted. He entered Hindostan, but made for the first eight years a very small progress. After that, all the Hindoo princes from the west of the Ganges united against him in defence of their religion, the extirpation of which was, to Mahmood, an object equal to that of the acquisition of territory. The confederate Hindoos were A. D. 1000.

defeated, and the exercise of their religion suppressed.

Mahmood carried the Koran with sword in hand into Hindostan. He treated the Indians with all the rigour of a conqueror, and all the fury of a zealot, plundering treasures, demolishing temples, and murdering idolaters in his route. The successors of this conqueror are called the dynasty of the Gazanavides, and maintained themselves in a great part of the countries which he had conquered in India until 1157, when the dynasty of the Gauvides commenced, who possessed nearly the same dominions as their predecessors the Gazanavides. This race continued till 1212. Several revolutions followed, till the time of Timur Bek, who entered India at the end of the year 1398. This invincible barbarian, as we shall see, met with no resistance sufficient to justify, even according to the military maxims of the Tartars, the cruelties which marked his course. He rendered himself lord of an empire which extended from Smyrna to the banks of the Ganges. His successors reigned, without any considerable interruption, more than three hundred and fifty years. At length Aureng-Zib mounted the throne of Hindostan, and may be considered as the real founder and legislator of the empire.

HISTORY OF THE COMMERCE TO, AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST INDIES, BY THE SEVERAL EUROPEAN NATIONS.

CHAPTER IV.

Intercourse with India, from the Conquest of Egypt by the Mohammedans, to the Discovery of the Passage by the Cape of Good Hope, and the Establishment of the Portuguese Dominion in the East.

IT is probable, that the inhabitants of Arabia were the first that visited India by sea; as it is well known that the Ishmaelites, who dwelt in the same country, were the first that carried spices by land into Egypt. Mohammed, by publishing a new religion, seems to have animated his countrymen with a new spirit, and to have called forth latent passions and talents into exertion. The greatest part of the Arabians, satisfied from the earliest times with national independence and personal liberty, tended their camels, or reared their palm-trees, within the precincts of their own peninsula; and had little intercourse with the rest of mankind, unless when they sallied out to plunder a caravan, or to rob a traveller. In some districts, however, they had begun to add the labours of agriculture, and the pursuits of commerce, to the occupations of pastoral life. These different orders of men, when prompted by the enthusiastic ardour with which the exhortations and example of Mohammed inspired them, displayed, as we have seen,*

* See Vol. X.

all the zeal of missionaries, and the ambition of conquerors. They spread the doctrine of their prophet, and extended the dominions of his successors, from the shores of the Atlantic to the frontiers of China, with a rapidity of success to which there is no parallel in the history of mankind.

As the active powers of the mind, when roused to vigorous exertions in one direction, are most capable of operating with force in others, the Arabians, from impetuous warriors, soon became enterprising merchants. They continued to carry on the trade with India in its former channel from the Persian gulph, and in a short time advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation, and brought many of the most precious commodities of the East directly from countries which produced them. To engross exclusively the profits of this branch of commerce, the caliph Omar founded the city of Bassora, with a view of securing the command of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, by which the goods imported from India were conveyed to all parts of Asia.

While the subjects of the caliphs continued to advance their knowledge of the East, the people of Europe found themselves nearly excluded from all intercourse with that part of the globe. To them the famous port of Alexandria was shut, and the new lords of the Persian Gulph, satisfied with supplying the demand of Indian commodities to their own extensive dominions, neglected to convey them by the usual channels to the trading towns of the Mediterranean. The opulent inhabitants of Constantinople, and other great

cities of Europe, bore the deprivation of luxuries, to which they had long been accustomed, with such impatience, that all the activity of commerce was exerted, to find a remedy for an evil which they deemed intolerable. The difficulties which were to be surmounted in the accomplishment of this purpose, afford a striking proof of the high estimation in which the productions of the East were held at that time. The silk of China was purchased in the most western province of that empire, and conveyed, by a caravan, a journey of fourscore or a hundred days, to the banks of the Oxus, where it was embarked and carried down the stream of that river to the Caspian Sea. After a dangerous voyage across that sea, it was removed by land-carriage to the river Phasis, which falls into the Black sea, and thence it was transported to Constantinople.

It is obvious, that only commodities of small bulk, and of considerable value, would bear the expence of such a mode of conveyance; and in regulating the ultimate price of such commodities, not only the charges, but the risk and danger of so complicated a conveyance were to be taken into the account. Yet under all these difficulties and disadvantages, the trade to the East was carried on with ardour; and Constantinople became a considerable mart of Indian and Chinese commodities. The wealth which flowed into this metropolis by these means, not only added to its splendour, but seems eventually to have had the effect of retarding for some time the decline of the Turkish empire.

In proportion to the difficulties of obtaining the commodities of the East, were the people of

Europe more desirous of them. Some Italian cities having acquired a greater degree of security or independence than they formerly possessed, began to cultivate the arts of domestic industry, with an ardour and ingenuity uncommon in the middle ages. The consequence of these exertions was such an increase of wealth as created new wants and desires, together with a taste for luxury and elegance, for the gratification of which their possessors were driven to explore foreign countries. Among persons in this stage of refinement, the productions of India have always been held in high estimation; and from this period they were imported into Italy in much larger quantities than before, and came into general use. From Italy the desire of these articles spread itself to Marseilles and other French towns on the coast of the Mediterranean. But the profits exacted by the Venetian merchants, from whom only they were to be obtained, were so exorbitant as prompted other nations to make an effort to supply their own demands. With this view they not only opened a trade with Constantinople, but ventured at times to visit the ports of Egypt and Syria. This eagerness of the Europeans, on the one hand, to obtain the productions of India, and on the other hand the considerable advantages which both the caliphs and their subjects derived from the sale of them, induced both parties so far to conceal their antipathy, as to carry on jointly a traffic of such importance to their common benefit: and it is probable that this communication would have produced insensibly the usual effect of commerce, in familiarising and reconciling men of hostile principles and discordant manners, and a regu-

lar trade might have been established gradually on equal terms, had it not been prevented by the crusades, or expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land, which, during two centuries, occupied the professors of the rival religions, and contributed to alienate them more than ever from each other.*

Two events happened prior to the termination of the holy war, which by giving to the Venetians and Genoese the possession of several provinces in the Greek empire, enabled them to supply Europe more abundantly with all the productions of the East. The first was the conquest of Constantinople by the Venetians, who availed themselves of the influence which they had acquired in that great city to extend and improve their Indian trade. The capital of the Greek empire, besides the means which it enjoyed in common with the other commercial European cities, of being supplied with those productions, received a considerable portion of them by a channel peculiar to itself. Some of the most valuable commodities of India and China were conveyed over land, as has been mentioned, to the Black sea, and thence by a short navigation to Constantinople. To this market, the best stored except that of Alexandria, the Venetians had free access, and the goods which they purchased there made an addition of great consequence to what they were accustomed to acquire in the ports of Egypt and Syria. A. D. 1204.

The other event was the subversion of the dominion of the Latins in Constantinople, and

* A full account of the rise, progress, and termination of the crusades will be given in the history of Great Britain.

the re-establishment of the Imperial family on the throne, which was effected partly by a transient effort of vigour supplied to the Greeks by indignation at a foreign yoke, and partly by the powerful assistance which they received from the republic of Genoa.

The Genoese were so sensible of the advantages which the Venetians, their rivals in trade, derived from their union with the Latin emperors of Constantinople, that they combined with the Greeks to dethrone a monarch protected by the Papal power, setting at defiance the thunders of the Vatican, which at that time were formidable to the greatest princes. This undertaking was attended with success, and Genoa became the greatest commercial power in Europe; a rank which it might have long held, if the enterprising industry and intrepid courage of its citizens had been under the direction of wise domestic policy. But never was a contrast more striking, than that between the internal administration of the two rival republics of Venice and Genoa. In the former, government was conducted with a steady systematic prudence; while in the latter it was consistent in nothing but a fondness for novelty, and a propensity to change. The one enjoyed a perpetual calm, the other was agitated with all the turbulence and vicissitudes of faction.

While the Venetians and Genoese were alternately making extraordinary efforts to engross all the advantages of the intercourse between Europe and the East, the republic of Florence, originally a commercial democracy, applied with such persevering vigour to trade, that the

state advanced with rapidity to power, and the people to opulence; by these means they shortly after obtained a share in the traffic to India, and from this period we find spices enumerated among the articles imported by the Florentines into England.

From the time of the crusades, which had the effect of bringing nations, hardly known to each other, to associate and to act in concert during two centuries in pursuit of one common end, several circumstances had operated in producing and extending this generality of intercourse. The people around the Baltic, hitherto dreaded and abhorred by the rest of Europe as pirates and invaders, assumed more pacific manners, and began to visit their neighbours in the character of merchants. They soon became united in a powerful commercial confederacy, known by the name of the Hanseatic league, which led them to establish a regular trade with the southern parts of Europe and Bruges. To them the merchants of Italy, particularly those of Venice, resorted; and in return for the productions of the East, and the manufactures of their own country, they received not only the naval stores and other commodities of the North, but a considerable supply of silver and gold from the mines of Germany. Bruges still continued to be the great mart of European trade, which accounts for the rapid progress of the Italian states in wealth and power.

During this prosperous and improving state of the Indian commerce, the Venetians received such new information concerning the state of the countries where the valuable commodities

were produced that formed the most valuable article of this trade, as gave them an idea of their wealth, their population, and their extent, which rose far above all the former conceptions of Europeans.

At this period the condition of the other nations of Europe was extremely favourable to the progress of the Venetians. England, desolated by its civil wars, had hardly begun to turn its attention toward those objects and pursuits to which it is indebted for its present opulence and power. In France, the fatal effects of English arms and English conquests were still felt, and the king had neither acquired power, nor the people inclination, to direct the national genius and activity to the arts of peace. The union of the different kingdoms of Spain was not yet completed; some of its most fertile provinces were still under the dominion of the Moors, with whom the Spanish monarchs waged perpetual war; and amidst these commotions little attention was given to foreign trade. Portugal, although it had already entered upon that career of discovery which terminated with the most splendid result, had not yet made such progress in it as to be entitled to any high rank among the commercial states of Europe. Thus the Venetians, almost without rival or competitors, were left at liberty to concert and to execute their mercantile plans; and the trade with the cities of the Hanseatic league, which united the north and south of Europe, and which hitherto had been common to all the Italians, was now engrossed, in a great measure, by them alone.

While the increasing demand for the productions of Asia induced every nation of Europe

to allure the Venetians to frequent its sea-ports, we may observe a peculiarity in the mode in which these people carried on their trade with the East, which distinguishes it from the practice of other countries in any period of history. In the ancient world the Tyrians, the Greeks who were masters of Egypt, and the Romans, sailed to India in quest of those commodities with which they supplied the people of the West. In modern times, the same has been done by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and, after their example, by other European nations. In both periods loud complaints have been made, that in the course of this trade every state must be drained of the precious metals, which it causes to flow incessantly from west to east, never to return. From whatever loss might have been occasioned by this gradual but unavoidable diminution of their gold and silver, the Venetians were, in a great measure, exempted. They had no direct intercourse with India. They found in Egypt or in Syria, warehouses filled with all the commodities of the East, imported by the Mohammedans, where they purchased them more frequently by barter than with money. Egypt, the chief mart for Indian goods, though a most fertile country, is destitute of many things requisite in an improved state of society, either for accommodation or elegance. The Venetian artists furnished a variety of manufactures of woollen cloths, silk, stuffs of various fabric, camblets, mirrors, arms, ornaments of gold and silver, glass, and many other articles, for all which they found a ready market in Egypt and Syria. In return, they received from the merchants of Alex-

andria spices of every kind, drugs, gems, pearls, ivory, cotton, and silk, unwrought as well as manufactured, in many different forms, and other productions of the East, including several articles of Egyptian growth and fabric.

From a propensity remarkable in all commercial states, to subject the operations of trade to political regulation and restraint, the authority of the Venetian government seems to have interposed both in directing the importation of Asiatic goods, and in the mode of circulating them among the different nations of Europe. To every considerable staple in the Mediterranean, a certain number of large vessels, known by the name of galleons, were fitted out at the public expence, and returned loaded with the richest merchandise; the profit arising from the sale of which must have been no trifling addition to the revenue of the state. Citizens, however, of every class, particularly persons of noble families, were encouraged to engage in foreign trade; and whoever employed a vessel of a certain burthen for this purpose, received a considerable bounty from the public treasury. It was in the same manner, partly in ships belonging to the state and partly in those of private traders, that the Venetians circulated through Europe the goods imported from the East, as well as the produce of their own dominions and manufactures.

There are two different ways by which we may obtain a knowledge of the importance of those branches of trade carried on by the Venetians. The one is by attending to the great variety and high value of the commodities which they imported to Bruges, the store-houses from which

the northern nations of Europe were supplied. The other is by considering the effects of the Venetian trade upon the cities admitted to a participation of its advantages. Never did wealth appear more conspicuously in the train of commerce. The citizens of Bruges, enriched by it, displayed in their dress, their buildings, and mode of living, such magnificence, as even to mortify the pride and excite the envy of royalty.

From observing this remarkable increase of opulence in all places where the Venetians had an established commercial intercourse, it may be inferred that the profit accruing to that people from the different branches of it, especially that with the East, must have been still more considerable. Indeed, from the first revival of a commercial spirit in Europe, the Venetians possessed a large share of the trade with the East. It continued gradually to increase, and during a great part of the fifteenth century they had nearly a monopoly of it, and consequently their gain must have been enormous. The condition of Venice, accordingly, during that period, is described by contemporary writers in terms which are not applicable to any other country in Europe. The revenues of the republic, as well as the wealth amassed by individuals, exceeded whatever had been known elsewhere. In the magnificence of their houses, in the richness of furniture, in profusion of plate, and in every thing which contributed either towards elegance or parade in their mode of living, the nobles of Venice surpassed the greatest monarchs beyond the Alps. Nor was all this display the effect of an ostentatious and inconside-

nate dissipation; it was the natural consequence of successful industry, which, having accumulated wealth with ease, is entitled to enjoy it with splendour.

Never did the Venetians believe the power of their country to be more firmly established, or rely with greater confidence on the continuance and increase of its opulence, than towards the close of the fifteenth century; when two events, which they could neither foresee nor prevent, proved fatal to both. The one was the discovery of America; the other was the opening a direct course of navigation to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope. Of all occurrences in the history of mankind, these are undoubtedly among the most interesting; and as they occasioned a remarkable change in the intercourse of the different quarters of the globe, and finally established those commercial ideas and arrangements which constitute the chief distinction between the manners and policy of ancient and of modern times, we must take a concise view of them in this part of our history.

The admiration and envy with which the other nations of Europe beheld the power and wealth of Venice, led them naturally to enquire into the causes of this pre-eminence; and among these, its lucrative commerce with the East appeared to be by far the most considerable. Schemes were formed by many countries to obtain a part of this trade. Columbus conceived the idea of opening a shorter and more direct communication with India, by holding a direct westerly course towards those regions which were supposed to extend

A. D. 1480.

eastward far beyond the utmost limits of Asia known to the Greeks or Romans. This scheme he first proposed to the Genoese, and afterward to the king of Portugal, into whose service he had entered. By both these the plan was rejected; and the glory of patronising the discovery of a new world was reserved for the king of Spain, who encouraged the idea of Columbus, and enabled him, in some respect, to realise his expectations, though his voyage did not, as he had fondly hoped, bring him to those regions of the East which he had looked to as the object of his ambition. The effects, however, of his discoveries, were great and extensive. By giving Spain the possession of immense territories, abounding with rich mines and many valuable productions of nature, several of which had hitherto been deemed peculiar to India, wealth began to flow copiously into that kingdom; and thence was so diffused over Europe, as gradually to awaken a general spirit of industry, and call forth exertions which alone must have soon turned the course of trade into new channels.

But this change was more completely as well as speedily accomplished, by the establishing a new route of navigation to the East by the Cape of Good Hope. This highly interesting and important discovery was made by Vasco de Gama, a Portuguese admiral, who, after a long and dangerous voyage of ten months, landed at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, on the twenty-second day of May. A. D. 1498.

The Samorin or monarch of the country, astonished at this unexpected visit of an unknown people, whose aspect, arms, and man-

ners, bore no resemblance to any of the nations accustomed to frequent his harbours, and who had arrived at his dominions by a route hitherto unknown, received them at first with that sort of joy and admiration which is excited by novelty. But in a short time, as if he had been endowed with a foresight of all the calamities which would result to India by this fatal communication opened with the Europeans, he formed various schemes to cut off Gama and his followers: but the Portuguese admiral extricated himself from these dangers, and sailed from Calicut with his ships loaded not only with the commodities peculiar to that coast, but with many of the rich productions of the eastern parts of India.

On his return to Lisbon, he was received with the applause due to a man who, by his superior abilities and resolution, had brought to such a happy issue an undertaking of the greatest importance, which had long occupied the thoughts of his sovereign and excited the hopes of his fellow subjects. Nor did this event interest the Portuguese alone: all the nations in Europe beheld it with concern; and though the discovery of a new world be an event more splendid than the voyage of Gama, yet the latter seems originally to have excited more general attention. The immense value of the Indian trade, which both in ancient and modern times had enriched every nation by which it was cultivated, was a subject familiar to the thoughts of all intelligent men; who at once perceived that this new route of navigation to the East would occasion great revolutions, not only in the course of commerce, but in the political state of Europe.

The Portuguese deeming themselves entitled to an exclusive trade with the countries which they had discovered, began to enjoy by anticipation all the benefits of it, and to fancy that their capital would soon rival Venice, as the store-house of eastern commodities to all Europe, and the seat of opulence and power. The Venetians, on the other hand, immediately foresaw the inevitable consequence in the ruin of that lucrative branch of commerce which contributed so greatly to enrich and aggrandise their country.

The hopes and fears of both nations were well founded. The Portuguese entered upon the new career opened upon them, with activity and ardour, and made exertions both commercial and military, far beyond what could have been expected from a kingdom of such inconsiderable extent. These operations were directed by an intelligent monarch, during whose reign (for a period of twenty-four years after the voyage of Gama) they had rendered themselves masters of the city of Malacca, in which was established the great staple of trade carried on among the inhabitants of all those regions in Asia which Europeans have distinguished by the general name of the East-Indies. To this port, the merchants of China, of Japan, of every kingdom on the continent of the Moluccas, and all the islands in the Archipelago, resorted from the East; and those of Malabar, of Ceylon, of Coromandel, and of Bengal, from the West. Thus was secured to the Portuguese a vast influence over the interior commerce of India, while, by their settlements at Goa and Diu, they were enabled to engross the trade of the

Malabar coast, and to obstruct greatly the regular intercourse of Egypt with India by the Red-sea. Their ships frequented every port in the East where valuable commodities were to be found, from the Cape of Good-Hope to the river of Canton; and along this immense coast, extending upwards of four thousand leagues, they had established a chain of forts or factories for the convenience and protection of their trade. Through the whole of this vast territory they were received with respect, and in many parts of it they had acquired the absolute command. They carried on this exclusive communication without rival or controul; they prescribed to the natives the terms of their mutual intercourse; frequently determined at pleasure the price of the goods which they purchased; and were thus enabled to import from Hindostan and the regions beyond it whatever is useful or agreeable, in greater abundance and variety than had been known formerly in Europe.

Not satisfied with the ascendancy which they had acquired in India, the Portuguese formed a plan of excluding all other nations from participating in the advantages of this commerce with the East. To effect this purpose, it was necessary to obtain possession of such stations in the Arabian and Persian gulfs, as might render them masters of the navigation of these two inland seas, and thus enable them both to obstruct the ancient commercial intercourse between Egypt and India, and to command the entrance of the great rivers which facilitated the conveyance of India goods, not only through the interior provinces of Asia, but as far as Constantinople. The execution of the measures for this purpose was

committed to Alphonsó Albuquerque, the most eminent of all the Portuguese generals who distinguished themselves in India. After the utmost efforts of genius and valour, he was able to accomplish one half only of what the ambition of his countrymen had planned. By wresting the island of Ormus, which commanded the mouth of the Persian gulf, from the petty princes who had established their dominion there as tributaries to the monarchs of Persia, he secured to Portugal that extensive trade with the East, which the Persians had carried on for several centuries. In the hands of its new masters, Ormus soon became the great mart from which the Persian empire and all the provinces of Asia to the west of it were supplied with the productions of India; and a city, built by the conquerors, on that barren island, which is even destitute of water, was rendered one of the chief seats of opulence, splendour, and luxury, in the eastern world.

The operations of Albuquerque in the Red-Sea, were far from being attended with equal success; he was constrained by unforeseen difficulties to return without effecting any settlement of importance. The ancient channel of intercourse with India by the Red-Sea, still continued open to the Egyptians; but their commercial transactions in that country were greatly circumscribed and obstructed, by the influence which the Portuguese had now acquired in every port to which the former had been accustomed to resort.

The Venetians soon began to feel the operation of these causes, in that decrease of their own Indian trade which they had foreseen and

dreaded. To check the farther progress of this evil, they persuaded the sultan of the Mamelukes, who was equally alarmed with themselves at the rapid success of the Portuguese in the East, and no less interested in hindering them from engrossing a branch of commerce which had long been the chief source of opulence to the monarchs and the people of Egypt, to enter into a negociation with the pope and the king of Portugal. The tone which the sultan assumed in this negociation, was such as became the chief of a military government. After stating his exclusive right to the trade with India, he declared to Julius II. and Emanuel, that if the Portuguese did not relinquish the new course of navigation by which they had penetrated into the Indian ocean, and cease from encroaching on that commerce, which, from time immemorial, had been carried on between the eastern part of Asia and his dominions, he would put to death all the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, burn their churches, and even demolish the holy sepulchre. This formidable threat seems, however, to have made so little impression, that the Venetians, as the last expedient, incited the sultan to fit out a fleet in the Red-sea. It consisted of twelve ships of war, having on board a body of Mamelukes, under the command of an officer of merit. The Portuguese encountered these new enemies (far more formidable than the natives of India, with whom they had hitherto contended) with undaunted courage; and after some engagements, they entirely ruined the squadron, and remained masters of the Indian ocean.

Soon after this defeat, the sovereignty of the

Mamelukes was overthrown, and Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, were subjected to the Turkish empire by the victorious arms of Selim I. Mutual interest quickly induced the Venetians and Turks to forget all ancient animosities, and to co-operate toward the ruin of the Portuguese trade in India. With this view Selim confirmed to the Venetians the extensive commercial privileges which they had enjoyed under the government of the Mamelukes; and published an edict, allowing the free admission of all productions of the East, imported directly from Alexandria, into every part of his dominions; and imposing heavy duties upon such as were brought from Lisbon.

These measures, however, were unavailing against the superiority which the Portuguese possessed in supplying Europe with the commodities of India; where they continued to prosecute these advantages till they established a commercial empire, which, if we consider its extent, its opulence, the importance of the power by which it was formed, and the splendour with which the government of it was conducted, was hitherto unparalleled in the history of nations. Emanuel, who laid the foundation of this stupendous fabric, had the satisfaction of seeing it almost completed. Every part of Europe obtained only from the Portuguese the productions of the East, except some inconsiderable quantity of them which the Venetians still continued to receive by the ancient channels of conveyance, and exclusively of which our quarter of the globe had no longer any commercial intercourse with India, and the further regions of Asia, but by the Cape of Good Hope.

Commerce is the free communication of things necessary, useful, and agreeable; but avarice persuades nations, that to secure this communication, they have a right to employ violence to compel those, who refuse voluntarily to exchange their superfluities. For this reason, Albuquerque, to whose superior talents the Portuguese were chiefly indebted for their preponderance in India, thought himself justified in building fortresses among the people whose treasures his countrymen coveted. He pretended that these forts were to defend Europeans from the insults they might experience from the natives of the country, or the Mohammedans who enjoyed their confidence. The Portuguese had at first required only a place of residence, a factory and a warehouse to secure their merchandise from the injuries of the weather: they then seized upon towns, and afterwards provinces and kingdoms. These usurpations, begun by Albuquerque, were continued by his successors.

In less than fifty years the Portuguese founded a vast and astonishing empire. Almost all the ports on the coast of India and the frontiers of Persia were in their hands. They possessed the whole coast of Malabar, of Coromandel, and of Bengal, together with the town and peninsula of Malacca; and the large island of Ceylon, and those of Sunda, were tributary to them. The Moluccas were entirely under their dominion: while they had an establishment at China, and the liberty of trade with Japan.

A. D. 1554. The most flourishing state of this empire was under the viceroy Don Constantine de Braganza. The authority of the

person who occupied this office was unlimited in military affairs. The only counterpoise to this great power was the shortness of its duration, which was fixed at three years. The ample income arising from the appointments, enabled its possessor to live with magnificence which was the more necessary, as he had command over several kings, either tributaries or vassals. The Portuguese had factories in the ports of these princes, and accumulated by trade immense riches in gold, spices, drugs, stuffs, and other articles, which were conveyed to Portugal, whither all the nations of Europe went to purchase them at any price. Having no competitors, they by turns depreciated and enhanced to an extraordinary degree the value of all European merchandise, of which they were thus the only distributors. By these means they accumulated immense fortunes, which having attained to the greatest height among individuals, and the nation in general, were afterwards rapidly reduced by that destructive corruption which is inseparable from overgrown wealth, as well as by foreign causes.

When that enthusiasm for glory which had guided the first Portuguese adventurers to the discovery of new countries had subsided, and when their power was fully established, there remained nothing for those who followed but avarice, the desire of amassing wealth. These sordid views introduced a degeneracy of morals: the courage and active industry of the first conquerors disappeared in their successors; who became lazy, cowardly, and debauched. Discord prevailed among their governors, who disputed with each other for supreme authority. While

the chiefs were quarrelling for independence, the people relaxed in their submission, and the troops in their discipline. The unfortunate crisis in its history, which by the imprudence and tragical death of its king, annexed it to the Spanish crown, gave a mortal blow to its possessions in India. These were involved in the wars which Spain carried on in Europe, at a time too when the Portuguese had excited the aversion of the Indians by their imperious character, the severity of their government, and their obstinacy in endeavouring to expel from the country the Arabs, and the Blacks, their only rivals. Hitherto, oppressed, and unable to resist the great forces which annually arrived from Lisbon, these Mohammedans maintained, with considerable difficulty, a precarious commercial correspondence in these parts. They emerged, however, with ardour from the state of subjection, as soon as they could flatter themselves with the hope of being supported by the Dutch, with whom they made a common cause against the Portuguese. Inured to fatigue, and firmly united among themselves by motives of interest, having every thing to hope and nothing to lose in the enterprise, these industrious Hollanders engaged against a nation divided in its councils, depraved in its morals, and detested by its subjects and neighbours; and found means to establish themselves in some of the distant islands. Assisted by fresh forces, which arrived from the Netherlands, they finally supplanted the Portuguese by intrigue, and stripped them of their domains in less time than the latter had acquired them by the force of arms.

The Portuguese had six principal settlements for their commerce: Goa, the capital; Mozambique; Ormus; Mascate; Ceylon; and Malacca.

The island of MOZAMBIQUE, though contiguous to the coast of Africa, in a commercial view belongs rather to India. It is inhabited by people of all nations and religions, to the number of three or four thousand. The soil is exceedingly barren; but all the conveniences of life are procured from the continent, as well as rich merchandise, such as gold in bars and in dust, silver, ebony, ivory, wine, fruits, &c. for which they give in exchange other kinds of wine, oil, silk, coral, shells that serve as money, and toys of all sorts. This government is very productive, and a fortune may be soon acquired in it; at the expence however of enduring excessive heat, and the danger of the unwholesomeness of the climate.

ORMUS is a rock of salt, and does not contain a single spring of fresh water; but its situation at the entrance of the Persian Gulf has long rendered it one of the most celebrated places of trade in the East. It affords a striking example of what may be done by commerce; since only with this rock, and a very small district of the continent opposite to it, the kings of Ormus were monarchs whose alliance was courted by the most powerful sovereigns. Its ports were filled with ships from every part of the Indies; from the coasts of Africa, Egypt, and Arabia. The riches thus brought thither were transported chiefly to Bassora, thence by the caravan to Aleppo, or by sea to Suez, and afterward by land or by the Nile to Alexandria, whence they were fetched away by the Vene-

tians; which constituted the principal source of their commerce.

During the months of January, February, September, and October, this island used to be visited by persons from all nations, while the power of the Portuguese was at its height. At that time Ormus was the wonder of the world. Every thing exhibited a scene of pleasure and joy. The saline dust of the streets was concealed by neat mats and rich carpets. The passengers were protected from the scorching rays of the mid-day sun, by awnings which projected from the roofs of the houses. The apartments adjoining the streets were decorated with Indian cabinets, and heaps of the most beautiful porcelain, intermixed with shrubs and odoriferous plants in guilt vases, ornamented with various figures. Camels laden with water were found at the corners of the streets. The most delicious wines of Persia, the most exquisite perfumes, and every luxury that the East could furnish, were displayed here in the utmost profusion.

During the continuance of each season a variety of different scenes attracted the notice of the curious observer. While artifice and gravity prevailed on the exchange, an air of officious politeness was to be found in the shops. The Portuguese officers, both civil and military, distinguished themselves by haughty looks, and a consequential gait; while an air of admiration and contentment was displayed in the countenance of the natives, and of transport and joy in the public places, where rope-dancers, tumblers, quacks, fortune-tellers, and others of these descriptions, exercised their talents to amuse and deceive the spectators.

The merchandise of Europe was brought into this country by the caravans from Aleppo to Bassora, consisting of three or four thousand camels, and twice as many persons. Those which traversed Persia, and which were no less richly laden, completed their journey also at Ormus. The Portuguese exacted duties from the importation of all these articles, as well as of provisions, and reserved to themselves, exclusively, some branches of commerce; but they suffered this valuable port to be taken from them by the Persians, since which the trade has been transferred to Bender Abassi, and the population of Ormus has become nearly extinct. The Dutch, under pretence of procuring ballast, carried away even the materials of the houses. It is at present deserted, and there scarcely remain a few ruins to indicate that it was formerly the grand emporium of the East.

It is sufficiently seen by what has been said of Mozambique and Ormus, in what the commerce of India consists, what are its objects, its advantages, and the manner of carrying it on. Some other of the Portuguese possessions are deserving of notice; both of those which they retain, and those which they have lost. Among the number of the latter is MASCATE. It is situated on a small bay of Arabia Felix, and is styled a terrestrial paradise inhabited by angels. The former part of this appellation is given to it on account of its excellent and numerous productions in flowers and fruits, and its numerous herds; and it is said to be inhabited by angels, because the sages there have purified and reformed the morality taught in the Koran, and

by its precepts, thus refined, regulate their actions and conduct.

The MALDIVE islands are represented by Portuguese writers as being of little utility, and peopled by wretched and barbarous inhabitants. But the king of these islands, however (the number of which is not known,) seems to have a somewhat different opinion of the importance and dignity of his station; as he styles himself "Sultan "of the thirteen provinces and twelve thousand "isles." The Portuguese requested permission to construct a fort in the capital, which they had no sooner done, than they began to assume a supreme power; a conduct which so enraged the natives, that they fell upon them and put them all to death, and would never after admit any of that nation among them. They have lost also the protection of the pearl fishery, near the Maldives, of which they were deprived by the Dutch, who, at the same time, took from them the island of CEYLON. All the names given to this island are epithets expressive of praise; *the sacred land*, *the fertile land*, and others of the same description. It is one of the largest and richest islands in the world. It produces pepper, cotton, ivory, silk, tobacco, ebony, musk, crystal, salt-petre, lead, iron, steel, copper, precious stones, elephants, and cinnamon.

From Ceylon it was natural for the Portuguese to stretch along the coast of COROMANDEL, which lay before their eyes; but in this latter territory they established only a few factories for commercial purposes. The first of these that occurs relating to that subject is NEGAPATAM, or *the city of serpents*; so called, not only because

the country behind it is full of serpents, but likewise from a kind of religious respect which is paid these animals by the natives, who consider it as a sort of impiety to kill them. When the Portuguese came into the Indies, this place was little more than a straggling village, but under them it soon became a fair and beautiful city, adorned with fine churches and a superb college of the Jesuits. It was afterwards taken from them by the Dutch, as well as St. Thomas Meliapour. In this island there is a church dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle, who, as the Portuguese affirm, was buried there: they even pretend to have found his sepulchre on the top of a neighbouring mountain; and have built over it a small chapel, that is seen at sea from a distance. They likewise shew a stone cross, which they say fell from heaven in the time of that apostle. The city had seven gates, and was very strong from its situation, being defended by the sea on one side, and by a chain of mountains on the other: yet it has been taken by the Moors, and retaken by the Portuguese, in whose possession it now is.

Crossing the gulf, the Portuguese adventurers proceeded to Pegu, where they lost their credit through the licentious conduct of one of their generals. Other faults, some of a political and some of a mercantile nature, reduced to almost nothing the trade which they carried on at Siam. Their disasters followed each other in rapid succession, after they had suffered themselves to be deprived of Malacca, which was built in the most advantageous situation for securing the isles of Sunda.

In these islands and the Moluccas, the Portu-

guese had the same successes, and the same reverse of fortune. At Sumatra they could obtain only leave to construct a fortress, and the liberty to trade. The pirates of Java, instead of being intimidated by the large Portuguese galleys, made descents on the settlements of that nation; in which, however, they were not sufficiently successful to exonerate their own sovereigns from the payment of a small tribute which had been imposed upon them. At Borneo they entered into a treaty, and both parties found more advantage in an amicable arrangement than they could have done by a prosecution of hostilities.

The Portuguese formed establishments also at the Moluccas, where they behaved with great cruelty, plundering and putting to death the inhabitants; swearing to treaties which they had no intention to observe; deceiving the kings; and destroying them by poison or assassination. The peculiar productions of these islands, cloves and nutmegs, which ought to have insured advantages to the natives, were the cause of their misfortunes, by exciting the avarice of the Europeans, who wished for the benefits to be derived from an exclusive possession of these valuable articles of commerce.

The most important of these islands are five in number, all which lie in sight of each other. Ternate produces cloves. The inhabitants, perceiving that these fatal riches exposed them to the persecution of the Portuguese, burnt all their clove-trees, and retired into the interior part of the island; but the ashes, in the course of a few years, rendered the soil so fertile, that it produced a greater number than ever of those

plants. Ternate is governed by a king, who can bring into the field a hundred thousand men. This and the other islands experienced so much ill-treatment under the dominion of the Portuguese that they were almost converted into deserts.

From the Moluccas the Portuguese proceeded to New Guinea, which is inhabited by a race of men whose eyes are incapable of enduring the light of the sun, but who in the night-time are active and lively. The productions of this country being incapable of affording any great riches, it was soon abandoned by the Portuguese.

They had, however, opened a very advantageous trade with China and Japan, which they also lost by their imprudence. Notwithstanding the natural aversion which the Chinese have to strangers, a fleet of eight ships richly laden, which Albuquerque had dispatched, was well received at Canton; but while the chiefs of the expedition were gaining the friendship of the Chinese in the town, by their honesty in trading, and their disinterestedness, the captains of the ships, who had remained at the mouth of the river, together with their officers, began to treat the inhabitants as they had treated all the other nations of India. This behaviour was formidably resented by the viceroy; and all their fleet would have been taken, if it had not been saved by a storm. At length they obtained leave to establish themselves at Macao; but they have here been always so narrowly watched by the Chinese, who never suffered them to have more provisions at once than are sufficient for a few days, that they are effectually prevented from un-

dertaking any thing to the prejudice of the empire.

The Japanese freed themselves from the necessity of these incessant precautions, by expelling the Portuguese at once from their country. They formerly enjoyed great liberty in this kingdom: they traversed the provinces, bought and sold without restraint, and were even permitted to propagate their religion, which, in a little time, had made great progress; it was embraced by some of the Japanese princes, and gained ground so rapidly as to give offence.

The imprudence of an ambassador of Philip II. after the union of the crown of Portugal to that of Spain, added strength to the suspicions of the Japanese government. This envoy avowed to one of the natives that his master's foreign possessions were acquired, 'by first sending mis-'sionaries to convert the inhabitants to Christia-'nity, and then troops to assist the new converts 'in shaking off the yoke of the infidel princes.' The emperor thought he perceived this system of invasion realised in the resistance which the Christians made to the orders issued against their religion. They assembled in a body, took up arms, engaged with the troops of the emperor, and were conquered, and from that time the Portuguese were for ever prohibited from setting foot in Japan. Two ships arrived with the view of trading as usual, when their commander received the ruinous and humiliating decree, and was assured, that if any of his countrymen should hereafter, on any pretence, make a landing, they would be treated as enemies. Never was sentence more rigorously executed. Four

Portuguese gentlemen, sensible of the great advantage which the re-establishment of this commerce would produce to their nation, ventured to land at Japan, under the title of ambassadors; but they, and the greater part of their retinue, amounting to sixty-one persons, were condemned to be beheaded. From this punishment only thirteen of them were spared, for the purpose of navigating a wretched vessel back to Macao, to carry an account of what had passed, and the threat of a similar fate to all their countrymen who should hereafter dare to appear on these coasts. Some Portuguese even, who had conveyed to Japan a few natives whom they had saved from shipwreck, and had treated with humanity, received no other answer than thanks, and an order never to return. The Dutch, by their intrigues and accusations, had a considerable influence in procuring these severe resolutions, which consigned into their hands this lucrative branch of the Portuguese trade, to the exclusion of all other nations.

Such is the outline of the history of the Portuguese trade in India, which in its present state appears weakened and consumed, like a man exhausted by age. Goa, unrivalled in the advantage and beauty of its situation, exhibits evident marks of decline. The public edifices still retain a majestic appearance, but are too numerous for the inhabitants, who do not amount to more than twenty thousand. The Portuguese, however, have no longer any trade to this place; the inhabitants of which, being chiefly military officers, judges, receivers of the public revenues, or dignified clergy, think it unworthy of their grandeur to have any concern in mercantile af-

fairs. Of the whole profits arising from commerce, the duties or other emoluments destined for the royal treasury are swallowed by their salaries, and very little is transmitted to Lisbon.

But though the power and commerce of the Portuguese are so much declined in the East, their pride remains as great as ever. At Goa they will not permit the natives to wear stockings, though these would cheerfully pay a considerable sum for that privilege; but they employ them, notwithstanding, as physicians, lawyers, and merchants, by which means many of them become so rich that they keep twelve or fourteen slaves, and are in much better circumstances than the lower order of the Europeans. The revenues of the church, however, suffered but little by this change in the state: there is scarcely a monastery which does not receive annually four or five thousand crowns out of the treasury; while the soldiers are starving, and committing acts of mutiny for want of their pay.

The condition of the Portuguese affairs, in Asia, however depressed at present, has been thought capable of restoration and improvement, under the conduct of a wise and energetic administration. They still have establishments, which would, with proper management, put them upon a footing equal to almost any other nation interested in that part of the world. They have indeed but few possessions left, and which are scattered at a distance from one another; but these few are excellently situated for trade, and might be rendered highly beneficial to the crown of Portugal.

If their principal ports were free, and the power of the inquisition were restrained with re-

gard to such European strangers as should be inclined to settle in the Portuguese dominions, it might give a new turn to their affairs, for interest in that part of the world is a sufficient invitation. All the trade in the Indies, carried on by the other nations of Europe, is managed by exclusive companies; and whether this practice be or be not really advantageous for the countries to which such companies belong, it is certain that private individuals are far from being benefited by it; and if places so convenient, and so well situated, were open to them, with free liberty of trading under the protection of the crown of Portugal, it would very soon appear that this protection, though it cost nothing, would produce much; and the flag, which is at present so little esteemed, would in a short time be as much respected as that of any other nation navigating the Indian seas.

CHAPTER V.

The History of the Discoveries, Settlements, and Commerce, of the Spaniards in the East Indies, down to the present Times.

THE reputation which the Portuguese had acquired by their discovery of the islands of Madeira, the Azores, and the coast of Africa, soon excited the jealousy of their neighbours, and especially the Castilians. These people at this time governed by king Ferdinand and queen Isabella, who by their marriage united the kingdoms of Spain, which descended to them respectively by hereditary right, were emboldened by that superiority of power which was the natural result of this union: they attacked the kingdom of Granada, the only region which then remained in possession of the Moors, and after a bloody war and siege of the capital, that fruitful territory was added to the rest of their dominions by the right of conquest.

While their catholic majesties were employed in the siege of this city, the propositions of Christopher Columbus, for discovering certain rich countries by sailing westward of Spain, were made to them, and were accepted; and encouragement and assistance were afforded to that hero in his undertaking.

On his return from his fortunate voyage, the sovereigns of Spain, according to the custom and policy of the times, applied to the court of

Rome, in order to procure a confirmation of their title to these newly found countries, and such others as might be found. Alexander VI. who then filled the papal throne, granted to their Catholic Majesties all the islands or continents already discovered, or that should be discovered, drawing a line from pole to pole, at the distance of an hundred leagues from the Azore islands; with the grant to the king of Spain of all that should be discovered beyond that line to the west or the south. This settlement, intended to quiet the disputes of the crowns of Portugal and Spain, had a contrary effect: the king of Portugal thought himself injured by the partition, and threatened to send out a fleet to support his claims.

Commissioners were appointed to discuss this matter on amicable terms; and after many conferences, and hearing the arguments and opinions of several cosmographers who were admitted into their assemblies, it was agreed that the line of demarcation should be drawn two hundred and seventy leagues farther than that mentioned in the pope's bull.

These conditions, being settled in the presence of deputies from the sovereigns of both courts, were signed by the king and queen of Spain, and after the lapse of a few months, by the king of Portugal also. The Portuguese, who at this time had discovered little beyond the island of St. Thomas, under the equinoctial, exerted themselves very vigorously to rival their neighbours, and, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, soon passed the Cape of Good Hope, and entered into the possession of the Indies. They solicited and obtained a demarcation from

pope Martin V. which they considered as giving to them the exclusive property of the Indies, because they imagined that it was impossible to go thither except by the route they had pursued, and that these rich countries would of course be always within the line by which their territory was bounded.

Ferdinand Magellan, however, having been present at the discovery of the Moluccas by the Portuguese, conceived that a passage might be found thither, different from that by the Cape of Good Hope and the Indian seas, and that these rich isles, being thus placed beyond the Portuguese line of demarcation, would become the property of those who should first land upon them by this new route. With these ideas he returned to Portugal, and demanded of his employers a small augmentation of his salary, but his modest and reasonable claim was rejected. Disgusted at this treatment, he entered immediately into the service of Spain, and proposed to the monarch of that country the acquisition of the spice-islands; assuring him that it could not be deemed an infringement of the right given to the Portuguese by the bull of Martin V. as these isles would appear evidently assigned to the Spaniards by the bull of Alexander VI. on tracing a route which would conduct them through the Great Southern Ocean, without touching at the Cape of Good Hope or crossing the Indian seas. The question was to discover this route. Magellan pointed it out as a part of the globe where different countries were supposed to lie contiguous to each other, but between which his observations had induced him to believe that a passage might be found;

and the council of Spain were so well satisfied with his proposal and arguments, that they furnished him with vessels to make the attempt. Magellan proceeded by this new route to some islands in the neighbourhood of the Moluccas, and the strait through which he passed in his expedition still retains his name. This honour is the only reward which his success procured him: having imprudently exposed himself on one of these islands, he was killed; but his ship, called the Victory, under the command of Sebastian Cabot, returned safe to Spain, being the first vessel in the records of history that ever sailed round the world.

The Portuguese were alarmed at this discovery, which seemed to threaten the ruin of the chief foundation of their opulence. They referred to the bull of Martin V. and were answered by a reference to that of Alexander VI. The two nations were on the point of coming to an open rupture; but the Portuguese, in order to prevent it, made offers of a pecuniary nature to Charles V. then sovereign of Spain; and this prince, who was always needy, suffered them, in opposition to the advice of his council, to keep possession of the islands, but without renouncing his right to them.

This agreement deprived Spain of the Moluccas during the remainder of that and some part of the succeeding reign. But under Philip II. these, together with the whole dominions of Portugal, came again under the power of the Spaniards. They sent a squadron by the strait of Magellan to take possession of the island on which he had landed; and from the name of the king under whose reign they were finally united

to the crown of Spain, they were called the Philippines.

The hostilities between the Portuguese and Spaniards in those seas, on account of these disputed possessions, ceased when the two monarchies were united after the death of don Sebastian, king of Portugal. When these kingdoms were again separated, on the accession of the house of Braganza to the throne of Portugal, the Philippines were annexed, and still remain so, to Spain. It is to be remarked that the issuing of two bulls, considered perhaps by those who gave, and those who received them, as a piece of vain formality, was thus the cause of an enterprise which proved highly useful to the progress of navigation.

According to the Chinese historians, the Philippine islands were once subject to that empire. The Japanese make pretensions of the same kind. So that the Spaniards, at first, found themselves surrounded with enemies; and before they were firmly established, they had to defend themselves against the attacks of the Chinese, the jealousy of Portugal, the efforts of the Moors and Arabs united to expel these new guests, the ferocity of the natives, and above all the malevolence of the Dutch. The difficulties with which they had to contend were at one time of so formidable a nature that it was seriously deliberated at the court of Spain, whether the conquest should not be wholly abandoned: and it is generally believed that it was retained not so much from the expectation of advantages to arise from these possessions, as to prevent them from falling into the hands of other nations. The pretence, indeed, held out

by the Spaniards was, that the natives, whom they had begun to convert, might not be suffered to relapse into their former errors.

LUZON, or LUCONIA, is the largest and most important of the Philippine islands, being nearly five hundred miles in length, and, in general, about one hundred in breadth. The jealousy of the Spaniards has prevented the acquisition of any accurate knowledge concerning this island. Its whole length is pervaded by a chain of high mountains toward the east. It commands by its position a group of islands, said to consist of eleven hundred of different magnitudes. Gold, copper, and iron, are known to be among the products of Luzon, and the soil is so fertile, that the growth of all the vegetable productions is speedy and prodigious. The trees are covered with blossoms and fruits at the same time.

This island is variously inhabited by Moors from Borneo, called Tagals; Malays from Malacca; painted Indians, called Pentados, who are supposed to be the original inhabitants of the country; and blacks, named negrillos, who are described as enthusiasts for liberty, and continually at variance among themselves. Those at the top of the mountains are enemies to those who inhabit the middle, and those in the middle equally so to those at the bottom. They all, however, are ready to unite against the Spaniards, who persecute them with inveteracy. The Tagals are tall and well made: the men wear only a kind of shirt with loose drawers; but the dress of the women is chiefly a large mantle, and their black and beautiful hair sometimes reaches the ground. The houses are

of bamboo covered with palm leaves, raised on pillars to the height of eight or ten feet. The whole island, of which Manilla is the capital, presents a well cultivated and polished country; rendered interesting too by its beautiful women, agreeable gardens, and well-built houses. Manilla is the residence of an archbishop, who has three suffragan bishops in the other islands. The captain-general is dignified with the title of viceroy. He has under his command about four thousand men, and presides also in the civil courts of justice. The tribute imposed upon the Indians is a sort of capitation tax, but it is paid in the productions of the island. The chief food of the inhabitants is rice, and salted fish. There are many lakes in the island of Luzon, the most considerable of which is that which gives source to the river of Manilla. There are also several volcanoes; and earthquakes are not uncommon. The cotton produced here is of a peculiar beauty; and the sugar-cane and cocoa-tree are objects of particular cultivation.

The city of Manilla is well built and fortified, but a third part of it is occupied by convents; the number of Christian inhabitants is computed at twelve thousand. Between this city and Acapulco in Mexico, a celebrated commerce was formerly established, which extended through a space of about eight thousand four hundred miles, more than one-third of the circumference of the globe. The city of Manilla was taken by the English in 1762. The Chinese were very numerous here, till the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Spaniards made a terrible slaughter of that industrious people; and in

1769 they were, by the bigotry of the governor, again expelled from all these isles, which have since that time greatly declined in industry and produce.

Next to Luzon, MINDANAO is the largest of the Philippines. It produces sugar-canes and cinnamon. All this group of islands does not belong to the Spaniards. The isle of *Xola* is subject to a king of its own: this is the only one of the Philippines in which elephants are found. It is the centre of the commerce carried on by the Moors. The three fundamental articles of the religion of this people are—to eat no pork—to submit to circumcision—and to maintain a plurality of wives. They are remarkably temperate; and though living in a country which abounds with spices, they never make use of them. Their customs are very similar to those of the inhabitants of Barbary and Africa. If a father expends any money for his son, or redeems him from slavery, he considers him as his own slave; and the son does the same in regard to the father.

The internal commerce of the Philippines from one island to another is considerable; but that with the Chinese is more important, who carry thither their own merchandise and that of Japan. Their trade with America is carried on by a first-rate vessel deeply laden, which departs every year from Manilla for Acapulco, and leaving there the productions of Asia, carries back a few American productions, and a great deal of European merchandise, consisting partly of toys, which are articles highly esteemed in these islands. The route of this valuable ship, the time of its departure, the places where it

is to touch, the signals to be observed, and other particulars of its arrangement, are all regulated with the greatest care. No precaution is neglected with regard to its equipment and defence. It employs six months in going, and as many in returning. It is built at the Philippines, which supply the most beautiful timber in the world. As much fresh water as possible is put on board, but even this would not always be sufficient, were it not renewed by the rains which the vessel meets with in a certain latitude. Mats are then suspended to receive the water, and by means of bamboos fitted to them below, it is conveyed into jars. This relief never deceives them.

The Spanish families settled in the Philippines rarely leave them; they live well here, but cannot accumulate any great wealth. It is difficult besides to find an opportunity of a direct passage, which is always extremely dear. Being once accustomed to the climate, they remain the more willingly, as the government is remarkably mild. The viceroy possesses absolute power, and might become a tyrant, but he is somewhat restrained by holding his office only five years, at the end of which time he cannot embark for Europe until his conduct has undergone a strict examination; for which sixty days are allowed the inhabitants after his departure has been proclaimed to bring forward their complaints, and thirty days more to prosecute him. His successor, by virtue of an express commission, is generally the judge. This inquest is severe, and the punishment of the guilty is difficult to be eluded. There are instances of viceroys committing suicide to avoid being disgrac-

ed and punished on such occasions; others have died in prison; and several who by dint of corruption have been spared by the judges, have felt the certain indignation of the multitude.

The MARIANNE or LADRONE ISLANDS, were discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, in the first attempt ever made to sail round the world. He found them peopled by men who supplied by industry the want of those articles which were denied them by nature. Though destitute of iron, they had arms, which they employed with strength and dexterity; these consisted of long javelins of very hard wood, headed with human bones, rendered exceedingly sharp, and with these they contrived to inflict poisonous and mortal wounds. They could throw stones with such force and precision, as to make them enter into the trunk of a tree at a great distance. They were, perhaps, the only people in the world who were unacquainted with the use of fire. They swim with so much agility, that water seems to be their natural element. Their small prows are navigated with oars and triangular sails. and on account of the singular appearance which their vessels made, Magellan first called these islands *The Islands of Sails*; but he afterwards named them the Ladrones, or Islands of Thieves, because the Indians who came on board his ship stole every thing within their reach that was made of iron. It was not till about a century ago that they obtained the name of the Marianne islands, from the queen of Spain, Mary-Anne of Austria, at whose expence missionaries were sent thither to propagate the Christian faith.

The largest of these islands is called GUAM,

or St. John. Its aspect is delightful; it exhibits continual verdure, and groves interspersed with lawns covered with animals of every kind. On this island were formerly thirty or forty villages, but they are now much reduced in number; of those that still remain, two perhaps deserve the name of towns, the houses in them being tolerably well built, and having a considerable number of Spanish inhabitants, as also churches, convents, and other public edifices. In the year 1684, the Spaniards built a ship here for the Manilla trade; but nothing of this kind has been done since. These people seem to consider it as a point of policy to preserve their present settlements, because they are absolutely necessary, without feeling any desire of extending them, or improving the advantages of them. St. John is the only one of these islands in which any Spaniards except missionaries reside, though they send small detachments from their garrison to the adjacent islands, to bring them refreshment; and it is here that the Manilla ship touches in its voyage to procure fresh provisions and articles for the sick on board, which is the principal reason that the crown of Spain has been at the expence of supporting a fortress, and maintaining a garrison here, without drawing any supplies from the produce of the island.

These islands are not all peopled, and as they lie at such a great distance from the continent, it is not known whence the first inhabitants emigrated. The present consist of three distinct classes; the nobles, the middle class, and the populace. The nobles look down with great contempt upon the other classes, who dare not

speak to them but at a distance, and cannot, without subjecting themselves to the severest punishments, form any alliances with them by marriage. In no place do the women possess so much authority, or use it with less moderation. If one of them complain of her husband, all the rest of the sex assemble, assume the arms of the men, go and ravage the lands of the untractable spouse, plunder his furniture, and destroy his habitation. He is reckoned happy if he can escape from their hands, and is besides thus deprived at once of both wife and children, for the latter always follow the mother.

These islanders are not unacquainted with the moral principles of social life: quarrels and wars are very uncommon among them; the latter when they happen, consist of sudden incursions, and the parties will endure hunger several days to lie in wait for their enemy, that they may rush upon him by surprise and carry him off. They present offerings to the sea by placing them in a canoe, which they abandon to the waves. A certain kind of sages among them, called *anitis*, practise medicine; and by the help of that science support a few religious ideas, such as the dread of punishment and the hope of happiness in a future state. The first man, they say, was formed of the earth of their island, which was converted into a stone. This stone happened to break, and the human race was produced from its fragments, which were dispersed over the whole earth. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and place their paradise under the earth, which they describe as a delicious garden, full of cocoa-trees, abounding with rich fruits, and watered by pleasant rivers

running through flowery vales that exhale the richest odours. The place of torment they call Zazarraguan, or *the house of Chayfi*; the name of the demon who they believe afflicts the soul that falls into his power with a variety of tortures. They do not ascribe this punishment to the crimes they may commit, but imagine that every one who dies a natural death goes immediately to happiness, and that such as are cut off by violence are doomed to the house of Chayfi. When a friend or relation is dying, they stand with a neat basket on one side of them, and desire that the soul would be pleased to repose there whenever it returns to make them a visit.

In these islands the women have all the graces of the sex in their persons, and their manners. They are much addicted to amusements, and have their assemblies as well as the men, in which they employ themselves in reciting the performances of their poets, in a very peculiar manner. They arrange themselves in a circle, and speak or rather chant all at once, and yet so distinctly, and with such harmony and so fine a cadence, as appears equally surprising and satisfactory to Europeans. On such occasions they are adorned with little shells, and pieces of tortoise-shell hanging on their foreheads, with girdles of the same sort interwoven with flowers of different colours, and little cocoa-nuts neatly engraved. In common they wear only a piece of mat about their middle, and the men go entirely naked; but at their assemblies they wear an entire garment made of reeds, or twigs of trees, which disfigures them exceedingly, and makes them appear as if they were in a cage;

and yet even with this incumbrance they move with surprising agility, dancing with shells between their fingers, and accompanying the poems which they sing with such a variety of actions, that these entertainments may be esteemed a kind of pantomimes.

The Marianne islands are not much valued by the Spaniards; for although the climate is mild, and the soil fertile, they produce neither precious stones nor metals. The inhabitants bear a great hatred to the Spaniards, who probably at first abused their superiority. They reproach these foreigners with being the cause of the gnats by which they are tormented, and assert, that before their arrival, they had neither the colic, rheumatism, nor any other diseases. With such prejudices, it is not astonishing that these people should have offered themselves at different times to the English and Dutch; but these nations, to whom they could have been of no utility, suffer them still to remain as appendages to the Spanish monarchy, which retains them under its dominion for the benefit of its navigation.

When Magellan first attempted to land at these islands, he was prevented by a multitude of canoes or Indian prows filled with people, who leaped on board his ship, and stole every thing upon which they could lay their hands. On this he changed his purpose, and to gratify his own and people's resentment, he landed with a small force of armed men, set fire to fifty houses, burned their vessels, and killed seven of the inhabitants. Such was the extravagant curiosity of these Indians, that when shot through with arrows, they drew them from their bodies, and gazed as them with an earnestness that

seemed to overcome the sense of pain, till they dropped down and expired: and their countrymen, notwithstanding what had happened, followed Magellan to sea with two hundred prows, and held up fish and other things, as if still desirous of trading with him. In some of these little barks the Spaniards saw women lamenting and tearing their hair, on account of the loss of their husbands.

In the year 1568, a Spanish ship touched at Guam, and some of the men went up the country in search of provisions. Among these was a stout young man, who, walking unarmed through a wood, was seized by a lad of fourteen, who was in the act of running away with him, when four Spaniards, alarmed for the safety of their countryman, went in pursuit of him and rescued him from the boy, who fled through the wood with amazing swiftness. This circumstance has been dwelt upon, in proof of the great strength of man in his primitive and uncivilized state.

A few years afterwards the viceroy of Mexico sent a party of soldiers, to seize and bring off some youths of this island, in order to have them educated in the Spanish manner. Among the number of those whom this party carried away, was the very boy who attempted to steal the Spaniard, and who now, without fear or scruple, avowed his intention, declaring, that if he had succeeded in his design, he should, according to the custom of the country, have knocked him on the head, then have sucked his brains, burnt his body, and drunk the ashes mixed in palm wine, preserving however the bones, for heads to his lances.

According to the Spanish accounts, there are not at present above four thousand inhabitants in the whole island of Guam; of whom about a fourth part is contained in the city of San Ignatio d'Agand, where the governor generally resides. Besides this city, there are upon the island thirteen or fourteen villages.

The original design of the Spanish court was, to keep as small a colony and at as little expence as possible in the island of Guam, and not to trouble themselves with any of the other islands; and to this plan they steadily adhered for many years, till at length the missionaries obtained leave to proceed thither, to attempt the conversion of the Indians. All their efforts for this purpose, however, have been unavailing, and the old plan has been again resorted to.

The governor of the island of Guam keeps such of the natives as are not entirely under his obedience, in as much poverty and weakness as possible, and treats those who acknowledge his authority, not as subjects but as slaves. His principal endeavour is to be able to command, upon any occasion, a sufficient stock of provisions for the supply of his colony, and of the annual ship. This indeed is thought to be the best use to which the Marianne islands can be applied; as well as the surest method of being safe from the resentment of the natives, and the best security against these islands falling into the hands of any other nation. From the facts collected from writers of all nations, at different times, and under circumstances that cannot well deceive us, this appears to be the plan at present pursued by the Spaniards, and which will pro-

bably be adhered to as long as they are enabled to keep the settlement.

When the Spaniards united their crown to that of Portugal, the Moluccas absorbed all their attention, and prevented them from making other discoveries. By an accident, however, they became acquainted with another cluster of islands which they at first called the LESSER PHILIPPINES, and afterwards the CAROLINES, in honour of Charles II. Some of the inhabitants of these, after encountering a storm at sea, were driven to the Mariannes, where they landed. The account which these islanders gave of their country and manners, induced the missionaries to pay them a visit; and on this occasion they found the new country fertile and agreeable, and the inhabitants very numerous, and in a high state of civilization.

In each island there are noble families, the chiefs of which are called *tamoles*. The government is wholly aristocratic. All the iron which is found belongs to the principal tamole, who causes it to be converted into utensils of various kinds, which he lets out for hire to those who choose to labour, and this resource forms the whole of his revenue. The *tamoles* of all the islands assemble annually to deliberate on public affairs. Their station imposes upon them the obligation of living a strict and severe life, and of observing an irreproachable conduct. In all the villages there are schools for children of both sexes. The boys are taught agriculture; the art of cultivating flowers; of making nets, weapons, and boats for fishing; and are afterwards made acquainted with the principles of astronomy, by the help of a globe very roughly con-

structed. The girls are taught the methods of cookery, and the arts of making thread and cloth. In most of the Carolines, which are but few in number, the Spaniards have settlements.

These islands are unquestionably rich and valuable, as they possess almost all the blessings that the indulgence of nature can bestow. They have a mild and pleasant climate, which is not subject to excessive heat, though in the midst of the torrid zone; and they are never visited by an extreme of cold. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and produces all the necessaries of life. They lie at an equal distance from all the most favoured countries of the world, surrounded by the widest and smoothest seas, and thus capable of the safest, the most commodious, and most extensive navigation.

This group consists of between eighty and ninety islands, supposed to contain at a moderate computation, not less than an hundred thousand inhabitants, who are all attached to habits of industry, which is the genuine source of wealth; and their genius for mechanical inventions would, with a small degree of instruction, perfect them in those branches of trade that are necessary for the convenience of life. Nor are they destitute of such principles of useful science as might render them a civil, polite, and commercial nation. In their persons the natives resemble the inhabitants of the Philippines, and live chiefly upon fish and cocoa-nuts; and it is probable that their languages do not essentially differ. They have, evidently, no distinct notion of a Supreme Being, but believe in a sort of celestial spirits, who, they imagine, descend at certain times to bathe in a sacred lake. They

have no idols, nor temples, nor any appearance of worship. The dead are sometimes thrown into the sea; or else interred in a grave surrounded with a stone wall. It is said that the inhabitants of Yap worship a kind of crocodile, and have magicians among them. Polygamy is allowed, and the chief of the large island of Hogoleu had nine wives. Criminals are banished from one isle to another.

They do not appear to have any instruments of music, but their dances are accompanied with songs. Their only weapons are lances armed with bone. Even in this distant part of the globe negroes are found in a state of slavery; and in one or two of the islands the race seems mixed: it is known indeed, that twenty-nine Spaniards were once left on one of these islands, and it is imagined they married and settled there.

CHAPTER VI.

History of the English East-India Company.

WITHOUT deciding upon the long disputed political point, whether the East-India trade in general, and particularly the method of carrying it on by an exclusive company, is not in itself prejudicial to the community, as well as injurious to the individual, it may not be improper to adduce, as introductory to this history, the arguments on both sides of the question.

Those who favour this trade, and the exercise of a monopoly, point out the advantages which all nations engaged in this commerce have successively drawn from it. They mention the Hebrews, Tyrians, Egyptians, and Greeks, whose steps have been followed with equal avidity by the Venetians, Genoese, Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, Danes, and French. Thus, by the universal consent and practice of the wisest states, they prove the importance of this trade, which it is contended renders any other argument unnecessary. In addition to authority and long established example, they ask, what can contribute more to the increase of our naval power, and consequently the prosperity and security of our state, than this commerce, in which such a number of ships and seamen are employed? What can better improve the art of navigation, than those voyages which it renders neces-

sary? Besides, what a flux of riches does it bring! and what a number of useful subjects does it constantly employ, both at home and abroad! How many thousands, after amassing large fortunes in India, have returned and settled in their native country, to augment its common stock of wealth! What branch of commerce carried on by our merchants is not, in some measure, dependant on or connected with this? How unjust is it to overlook the great quantities of home manufactures, that this company are obliged by the terms of their charter to export; and the prodigious importation of unwrought commodities by their means! It has been asserted indeed, that the method of conducting the East-India trade by an exclusive company, is both injurious to the individual, and hurtful to the community. But does the conduct of other nations countenance this assertion? It seems to be the universal opinion of all states engaged in this commerce, that it can only succeed by a monopoly. The real state and condition of the trade can be known, and the necessary regulations and instructions given or executed, by no other means; precautions without which this commerce must inevitably fall to ruin. For these reasons, and others of less weight and force, it is contended that there is no alternative, but either that the traffic carried on to the East-Indies must be abandoned, or that it must be pursued under the conduct of a company, in the same manner as it has been among all other nations.

In answer to their arguments, the enemies to this monopoly, and to the trade in general, urge, that as it causes a prodigious exportation of silver, it has therefore a natural tendency to impoverish

and exhaust the nation. That the returns from India are for the most part articles of luxury, of which we have no real need; and that it manifestly contributes towards depriving our own poor of employment; thus compelling them to leave their native country for bread, which is the greatest evil that can befal a state. By persons on this side of the question it is asserted, that the East-India trade, instead of being a nursery, is really a grave for our seamen; scarcely one third of the crews returning or escaping death from the unwholesomeness of the climate and the length of the voyage. Even the exportation of India goods is, in their opinion, a pernicious circumstance; since by it, the consumption of our own manufactures, in those countries which are supplied by Indian stuffs, is thus lessened and almost annihilated. Hence the nation loses the advantages arising from the employment of its own poor in the improvement of its manufactures; which is the most solid source of wealth and power. But admitting the necessity of the trade, is there no method of continuing it but by giving away the natural privilege of every subject of a free state? Cannot the merchants who conduct the other parts of our commerce support the management of this also, which is now placed in the hands of a few directors, who are very often without any knowledge of trade in general? Cannot free merchants fit out ships, support the charge of factories, and furnish a stock sufficient for a traffic carried on by some of the poorest states in Christendom? Where is the advantage or necessity that at the sales of one company all the goods of those remote countries should be disposed of, which the

free merchants of Great Britain, the only exporters of such goods, may have occasion for ?*

The great and important share which the English East-India Company have of the trade to the Indies, will require us to enter rather largely upon the subject in the present chapter.

It cannot be ascertained when the Indies were first known to our ancestors. It is said by our best historians,† that the great Alfred, whose name will ever be dear to Britons, sent a favourite ecclesiastic to relieve certain distressed Christians in India. In proof that Sighelmus executed this commission of his benevolent monarch and master, we are told, that at his death he left in the treasury of the church of Sherburne a valuable quantity of spices and jewels, the produce of the country which he then visited; no record however remains, by which we may learn in what manner he executed the task enjoined to him. Nor can we even conclude from this fact, that there was any kind of direct commerce between this island and those remote countries; indeed it is highly probable, that our knowledge of the produce of the East was first obtained from the Venetians, who, with Genoa, Pisa, and other free states, had possessed themselves of this commerce from the time of the overthrow of the Roman empire, and with it all the traffic of the East, which had forsaken its

* For a more general discussion of this interesting question, the reader is referred to a little work entitled "An Address to Parliament, 1748," "Hume's Political Essays," and "Child on Trade."

† See Guthrie, Rapin, Smollet.

former channel from Alexandria to Damascus and Aleppo. From Venice our ancestors were supplied with Indian commodities, by an annual ship of great burden, for which the nation paid an enormous price. In this condition the Indian trade continued, till the reign of queen Elizabeth; when a Venetian galley of immense value being wrecked on the Isle of Wight, the sight of it excited the ardour and zeal of the English merchants to attempt a trade by Turkey, the only route by which East-Indian commodities were at that time brought to Europe. This accident gave birth to the Levant trade, and laid the foundation of our commerce with the East, which was soon after improved into a direct traffic, in consequence of the information communicated by sir Francis Drake after his return from his voyage round the world.

The original of the East-India trade of Great Britain was owing to the wisdom and energy of Elizabeth, who sent proper officers to explore the two routes already opened, viz. that of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1582, and that of the strait of Magellan in 1587. From the reports of these officers, it was conceived impossible for England to appropriate to itself, by means of single ships, a part of that commerce, to the prejudice of two nations who were jealous of their well-established superiority; and that while it employed all the exertions of industry, it would be necessary also to maintain it by a respectable force. These considerations gave rise to the East-India Company, which sent out its first adventure with a capital of 74,000l. and four ships equipped out of that sum.

In December 1600, a charter was granted, and an East-India Company incorporated, under the title of "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East-Indies." By their charter the company were empowered to choose their own officers; to trade freely with certain nations in Asia, Africa, and America; to make bye-laws; and to inflict corporal punishments and pecuniary fines, provided they were consistent with the laws of England: for the first four years they were allowed to export goods free of all duty: and considerable credit was allowed them in paying the customs of the articles imported. These with other advantages, accompanied by clauses which restricted the quantity of bullion to be exported, and which limited the duration of the charter to a certain period, were the principles on which this company was originally founded. It was in consequence of this charter that the London merchants raised the sum of money already referred to: this first fleet was commanded by captain Lancaster, who, acting as a private merchant, entered into a treaty of commerce with the king of Achen, and found means to establish a small factory, but not without experiencing some marks of displeasure from the Portuguese. He took on board a considerable quantity of pepper and other spices; and his successful return encouraged the company to send out three ships under the command of Sir Henry Middleton.

As soon as sir Henry had arrived at Bantam, he delivered his letters and presents to the king; which being well received, he left two of his ships to take in a cargo of pepper, while with

the third he sailed to the Moluccas, from the inhabitants of which as well as from those of Bantam he experienced the greatest respect and civility. The Dutch already began to view with jealousy the success of a nation, whose advantages and talents for trade were not inferior to their own. They endeavoured by every species of misrepresentation and calumny to excite the natives of the country against the English. But in defiance of all obstacles, Sir Henry Middleton contrived to make himself very acceptable to the kings of Bantam, Ternate, and Tidor.

At this period the Dutch and Portuguese were engaged in war; not on their own account, but as auxiliaries, the one of the king of Ternate, and the other of the king of Tidor. It seemed most advantageous to Sir Henry Middleton, at that time, to espouse the part of the Portuguese. The Dutch were incensed at this conduct, and threw impediments in his way, which, however, did not prevent him from returning with a very rich cargo. During the absence of this commander, another fleet was sent out to India, under John Davis, an expert pilot. On the arrival of this fleet at Bantam, Middleton had sailed about three weeks before for England. Sir Edward Michelbourne, the commander in chief, but who was in some respects under the direction of Davis, coming into the roads of Bantam, was informed by the English factors of the arts which the Dutch had used to prejudice them, and the danger of their being oppressed by force, if fraud could not prevail. Upon this notice Sir Edward weighed anchor, and steered directly to the Dutch fleet: this

resolute conduct occasioned the Dutch to remain quiet during the stay of the English admiral, which, however, was but short, for he returned with his fleet to Portsmouth in June 1606, soon after the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton.

During Sir Edward Michelbourne's stay in the East, he assumed an air of superiority over the Dutch, which his force authorised, and threatened open hostilities in case they interrupted the English commerce. To support these threats William Keeling arrived in 1608 with a body of regular troops. The Dutch made no resistance, and even applied to the English to defend them against the inhabitants of Banda; but after this service they behaved with duplicity towards their benefactors, and threw obstacles in the way of their commerce: captain Keeling, however, found means to return with a rich cargo, without the loss of a man.

The company began now to extend their power, and to assume a sort of sovereignty over different parts of India. The island of Banda was through their industry annexed to the crown of England, by a formal surrender on the part of the inhabitants. The great misfortune of the English company was, that they had no port. The supply of provisions depended, therefore, on the caprice of the Indian nations, with whom they were obliged to treat for the price of their merchandise at the risk of being imposed upon, as they had no place of safety to which they could retire with a view of waiting for more favourable opportunities. To remedy this disadvantage, the company began to establish factories. Hitherto likewise they

had purchased their ships from the Hans-Towns, but they now began to build for themselves. Their first attempt in naval architecture was the "Trade's Success," a vessel of 1200 tons burden, the largest and finest which had ever been constructed in England. It sailed in the year 1610 under the command of sir Henry Middleton, and afterward under other able officers, particularly captain Thomas Best, who arrived at Surat in September 1612, and applied himself diligently to the establishment of a factory, in which he was countenanced by the governor and all the Mogul's officers in that city. Intelligence of his activity and success having reached the Portuguese at Goa, they immediately fitted out a squadron of four large galleons and twenty-six frigates, having on board five thousand men and a hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. The English squadron was at anchor at the bar of Surat, when they first discovered a fleet of two hundred and forty Portuguese merchantmen steering from Cambaya. This at first alarmed the English commodore, but he soon saw that they had no intention to molest him. It was not long, however, before he received advice of the armament equipped at Goa against him, which was in full sail to drive him from the Mogul's ports, notwithstanding the emperor's permission to him for establishing factories wherever he thought proper. Best determined to stand his ground, or perish in defence of his right. He immediately weighed anchor and went to meet the Portuguese admiral, and got into the midst of the fleet before he fired a single shot. He then poured in his broadsides and small shot so

thick on the enemy, that they declined the battle for that day. The two fleets during the night lay at anchor within a small distance of each other; the Portuguese admiral holding a council of war, while Best was animating his men, and reminding them that they were Englishmen, that their safety depended on an obstinate resistance, and that the character of their country was involved in the event of the impending battle. Early in the next morning the hostile fleets came to action, which proved an obstinate, and, for England, a glorious one; the Portuguese were obliged to sheer off with the loss of twelve hundred men. Sardar Chaune, a nobleman of high rank in the Mogul's court, who happened to see the action from the shore, was so delighted with the bravery of captain Best, that on his return he sent for him, and treated him very sumptuously. The battle was again to be renewed, but Sardar Chaune attempted to prevail on Best to make a speedy flight, to which our gallant countryman replied, that numbers, however great, could never make him shrink from his duty, which he should always pursue amidst every difficulty and danger. Accordingly he attacked the Portuguese a second time, and in the space of four hours drove them entirely out of sight, in the presence of many thousand natives, who had crowded to the shore to witness the engagement. The fame of the hero soon reached the Mogul's court, and raised his astonishment no less than it gained his esteem; for till this time he had always imagined that no nation was equal on the sea, either in skill or valour, to the Portuguese. The brave captain, after making the best use of his victory, set sail

for Achen, and obtained of the king a ratification and renewal of the former treaty with the English; from Achen he went to Java, where having taken in a rich cargo, he departed for Britain, and arrived in the river Thames in the month of July 1614.

Sir Thomas Smythe, then governor of the company, was employed to represent to the king how advantageous it would be for the company's concerns, as well as honourable to the nation, if a person of rank and distinction were sent to the court of the Great Mogul, vested with the character of ambassador to that emperor. Sir Thomas Roe was accordingly sent out on this important mission; in the execution of which he attended the court of the Mogul for several months, ingratiated himself with the sovereign, from whom he received many valuable presents, and finally obtained some very considerable privileges and immunities for the British company.

In the year 1616 the East-India company had settlements and factories at Bantam, Jacatra, Surat, Agra, Brampore, Calecut, Siam, Macassar, Achen, and a multitude of other places. We have seen that Banda was already in their possession; but notwithstanding the formal manner by which this country was conveyed to them, the Dutch pretended that they had claims founded upon a prior settlement. The English soon after procured Lantore, by a solemn surrender of it made to them by the inhabitants.

Previously to this event, many successful voyages had been made to various parts of the continent and islands of Asia and Africa. Among these, Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Thomas Powell

were sent ambassadors from the crown, on the behalf of the East-India company, to Persia. In this voyage nothing very memorable occurred, except a plot formed and carried on by the Baluches, a people tributary to Persia, for seizing the person of the English minister; but their design was defeated, and the commission of the embassy executed in its full extent.

The trade of the company extended now from the Red-sea to Japan: in some respects, however, it was still precarious for want of commodious ports; and though the Dutch were still dangerous rivals, yet being considered less so than the Portuguese, the English company aided their efforts against their common foe. The remissness and want of vigour in the English administration afforded the Dutch an opportunity to get rid of both these competitors in the spice-islands, which they wished to appropriate exclusively to themselves. They accused the English factors at Amboyna of a plot to obtain possession of the Dutch fort: but it is generally believed that the accusation was only a pretence for the exercise of the most shocking cruelties that ever stained the honour of a civilized nation. The following is an abstract of this fact, which is related at large in several of our histories.

A Japanese soldier, in the Dutch service, was overheard one evening making enquiries of the sentinel respecting the strength of the place. From his situation in the army, and his general character, there is no doubt that his questions were dictated merely by curiosity; he was however seized, and charged with treasonable designs. Being put to the torture, the sufferings

which he endured compelled him to acknowledge himself guilty, and to name others as accomplices in his crime. During the examination, which lasted four days, the English had no apprehensions that they were to be implicated in the charge; they went in and out of the citadel unconscious of any danger, as they were innocent of any crime.

At this time, Abel Price, formerly a surgeon to the English factory, was prisoner in the citadel, for having threatened, while in a state of intoxication, to set fire to the house of a Dutchman, against whom he felt some ill-will. Price was dragged from his dungeon to behold the Japanese groaning under the agony of the exquisite tortures he had recently experienced; and was peremptorily told, that the English were accused of being confederates in the conspiracy, and that unless he confessed his guilt, he should sustain equal or more horrible tortures than those which he had before his eyes. Such menaces, which were carried into a rigorous execution, overcame the constancy of the sufferer, who, in the hope of being released from the rack, answered every question in the manner which the judges required. Immediately on this confession, captain Towerson and the rest of the English were sent for, and, having heard the charge against them, were thrown into prison. This was but the commencement of a series of the most horrid cruelties which it was possible for human nature to endure, of the particulars of which the humane reader might here excuse the omission, though the case of John Clark may be mentioned as a specimen of the rest. This man was not to be terrified into a confession of guilt

which had never entered his mind; he avowed before heaven, and in despite of his judges, that he was wholly ignorant of any conspiracy or plot against the Dutch government. Having in vain used every common method to extort from him an acknowledgment of guilt, they distended as widely as possible his arms upon a large door, by means of iron staples; his legs were stretched out in the same manner; a cloth was bound round his face and neck so close as to contain the water poured into it, with which liquor he was then supplied till by being obliged to take in repeated draughts he was ready to burst; but death was an act of mercy which his inhuman judges refused for the present to extend to him. He was taken down, and obliged to disgorge the water, in order that torments of a different kind might be applied. He was hoisted up by ropes, and lighted torches were applied to the soles of his feet, the palms of his hands, and other more sensible parts of the body; and he was at last thrown into a dungeon, and left to perish without any surgical assistance whatever. In this manner did the English factors fall victims to the avarice, jealousy, and resentment, of the Dutch company.

When the news of this affair arrived in England, James was on the point of commencing hostilities against Spain, and was on that account obliged, after some remonstrances, to acquiesce in this indignity from a state whose alliance was now become necessary to him. And the nation, almost without a murmur, submitted to an injury from protestant confederates, which, besides the horrid enormity of the action, was of much deeper importance to national interest

than all those which they were so impatient to resent upon the house of Austria.

But the cruelty and usurpations of the Dutch were not entirely overlooked. Charles the First was disposed to bring them to an account for their conduct, and was prevented only by the civil wars. During the protectorate of Cromwell, a shew of justice was preserved, in the imposition of fines in behalf of the families of the unfortunate persons who had been massacred. Charles the Second entered into two wars with Holland for this among other reasons; and it has been thought that nothing but the natural apprehension of the growing power of the house of Bourbon prevented, more than a century ago, the Dutch from being forced to make restitution of Banda and other valuable islands.

It was one of the earliest acts of the government of this last sovereign, to give that countenance and protection to the company which were necessary to revive and establish their commerce. By a patent he confirmed their exclusive privileges, and authorised them to trade from one port of the Indies to another. He gave them civil and military powers, and even the right of making peace and war in regard to the infidel nations of India; but with a provision, that if the charter should be found prejudicial to the nation, it should be annulled, on giving three years' previous notice. The king at length procured the company an advantage no less considerable by his marriage with the infanta of Portugal. At their repeated solicitations, he caused the island of Bombay, a barren and unwholesome spot, but of great importance on account of its situation and excellent A. D. 1661.

harbour, to be given him as a dowry; and the company were no sooner in possession of it than they built a fortress, and gradually extended themselves in great force along the whole coast.

The Dutch had for a considerable time pursued the long-concerted scheme of engrossing to themselves the entire trade of India. The former reign had afforded them an opportunity of executing, in a great measure, that design: during the interregnum the English commerce began to revive; and now it began to make a considerable figure in the East. This prosperity the Dutch resolved to interrupt, by a method no less effectual than an immediate attack upon the English; which was, to wage an unintermitting war with the natives, till they compelled them to expel all foreigners, together with themselves, out of the country.

The war no sooner broke out than their resentment was immediately levelled against the English, in which, by their superior strength, they generally succeeded in India; but peace between England and Holland taking place, the Dutch began by interposing in the quarrels of the natives, supporting the prince of Java against his father, till, from a principle of self-preservation, the Javanese were compelled to exclude our company, as foreigners, from their territory.

The loss of the English settlement at Bantam greatly affected the affairs of the company; they determined, therefore, at all events to attempt the recovery of a place so important to their trade. Great and extraordinary preparations were made for this purpose; and a fleet, consisting of twenty-three ships, was equipped, and

ready to sail. But with a view of extorting large sums of money from the company, government laid an embargo on this armament for nine months; and at length, by a well-applied bribe from the Dutch ambassador, the expedition was entirely stopped; an action that has stained with indelible infamy the mercenary reign of the profligate Charles. Thus were the interest and honour of the kingdom, and the rights of a company which had been established by law and cherished by the predecessors of this monarch, bartered for an inconsiderable sum of money. But notwithstanding this dereliction from principle, Charles II. certainly understood the nature of commerce, and would have encouraged it, if his irregular passions and licentious conduct had left him any opportunity of paying a suitable attention to the welfare of his people. A. D. 1685.

In James II. the company found a still more powerful protector and warm patron. Charles had granted them a new charter; but his successor not only extended their immunities, but in a manner shared his sovereignty with them. He empowered them to build fortresses, to levy troops, to determine causes under the form of courts-martial, and to coin money, to enable them to dispute this commerce with the Dutch. With so many advantages, and the patronage of a prince who both understood and loved trade, the company flourished, grew powerful, and extended their connections and the authority with which the sovereign had invested them; but finding their capital insufficient for their enlarged undertakings, their generals and chiefs in India were ordered to borrow money on bonds,

in order to enable them to purchase a loading for their ships homewards. This was justifiable, if they had proceeded no farther; but it is affirmed, on respectable authority, that the servants of the company were recommended to borrow as much cash and goods as possible of the Mogul's subjects, and then to find a cause for a quarrel with their creditors, which might serve as a pretence to interdict them from carrying on a trade. The merchants of Surat, at this period, were engaged in very large commercial
A. D. 1687. concerns by sea, to Mocha, Persia, and Bassora, to the west; and to Bengal, Achen, Malacca, and Siam, to the east; by virtue of passes obtained of the English general, which were granted to all who applied for them. The general, in consequence of his instructions, soon began to complain of grievances, the substance of which complaints were contained in thirty-five articles, relating chiefly to Messrs. Pitt and Boucher, two English gentlemen who had formerly been of the general's council. They had drawn upon themselves the resentment of the governor, because they had always preferred their own honour and integrity to the general's favour, and had accordingly opposed his pernicious and oppressive measures. At last his vengeance grew to such a height, that the only means of safety left them was to take sanctuary in the Mogul's country, where Mr. Boucher continued to trade, by means of a licence from the emperor, with great success. His friend was not so fortunate; he was taken by pirates at sea, who, at the instigation of the governor, demanded twenty-five thousand pounds as a ransom; which as he was unable to pay, he

was detained a prisoner the rest of his life. Not contented with the ruin of Mr. Pitt, the governor next sent to Surat to demand Boucher, his wife, children, and property, to be delivered up to him; and, in short, would not rest satisfied till he had involved the company in a war with the Mogul, when he seized the ships of that prince's subjects, in defiance of passports granted and signed by himself. Thus was a war commenced which cost the English East-India company almost half a million of money, besides ruining their credit with the Moguls.

When general Child found that his success was not likely to anwer the expectations he had formed, and that the Indians poured down in crowds to defend their rights, he was desirous of terminating the affair, and persons were appointed to negociate with Aureng-Zib, the emperor. The Mogul, however, at first refused to see them, but by the assistance of some presents and bribes distributed among his officers, the deputies were admitted to an audience. Their attitude, when brought into the presence of the eastern monarch, was truly mortifying: their hands being tied before, and they were obliged to prostrate themselves on the ground. With a severe and haughty tone Aureng-Zib demanded their business: to which they answered by making a confession of their fault, and petitioning for pardon and peace, and that the Mogul's forces might be withdrawn from Bombay. Aureng-Zib required as a condition in this treaty that general Child should, within nine months, be recalled from India, and never more, on any pretence, be suffered to return; he also exacted

a full indemnification for all the losses which his subjects had sustained.

The death of general Child, which happened very soon after this interview, facilitated the negociation, and was highly advantageous to the company's affairs: one of the embassadors died also in a short time, of poison, as it was imagined, on account of his ardent attachment to the English. When he was at the point of death the English applied to him for an account of the disposal of the money entrusted to him for secret services. His answer was, that he exceedingly regretted he had ever undertaken a business which had cost him his life, and yet with the conduct of which his employers seemed dissatisfied: but that at all events he was not at liberty to divulge the manner in which the money had been appropriated.

A. D. 1688. The Dutch failed not to endeavour to take advantage of the misconduct and misfortunes of the English company. Baroon, their ambassador at Aureng-Zib's court, hearing of the revolution which had taken place in Great Britain, thought to avail himself of the ignorance of the Indian monarch. He seized the first opportunity to magnify the power and influence of the Dutch, and vilify the conduct and character of the English. The emperor seemed pleased with what he said, and ordered him to proceed. Baroon then told him that Great Britain was, in comparison with Holland, a poor, weak, and contemptible nation, ever embroiled in divisions and civil discord; and that if they were excluded by his majesty from trading with his subjects, the States-

General would carry it on with more advantage to India, fill his coffers with treasure, and make his people happy, while the English would be at a loss to procure daily bread. The Mogul gravely and sarcastically replied, that if the states possessed so great a superiority, it would be an easy matter for them to drive the English out of India, and engross the whole commerce to themselves; and desired him to inform his masters, this was the conduct that he expected them to pursue. Baroon excused himself, pretending that he could do nothing without instructions from Holland. The prince then reprimanded him, saying, "You know that it is now "but seventeen years since the king of France "over-ran the greatest part of your country in a "few days, and would have become master of "the whole, had he not been repulsed by the "English, and not the Dutch forces." He moreover added, that if England did not hold the balance of power, either the emperor, or France would conquer Holland in a single campaign. Baroon, disappointed and confounded, made no reply, but retired with the greatest mortification.

The English ambassadors had no sooner obtained a pardon than they entered upon the diversions of the country, and found themselves getting fast into favour. The Mogul's troops were withdrawn from Bombay, and a peace was granted. The pestilence which this army left behind it was infinitely more prejudicial to the company's affairs than all their losses. Although the Mogul was not ignorant of the injuries that his subjects had sustained from the English, yet he was unwilling to use severity.

He thought it more advisable to pass over enormities which could not be remedied, than to prosecute the authors of them with a rigour which might deprive his dominions of a beneficial commerce. When the ambassadors had their audience of leave, he gently told them of their errors, admonishing them to a different conduct in future, and, with the majesty of a prince, commanded them to make law the measure of justice, to use moderation in all their actions, and equity in their dealings; and after these admonitions, he dismissed them, filled with the highest notions of his wisdom, magnanimity, and prudence.

General Child was succeeded in the government of Bombay by Mr. Vaux, who was obliged to go to Surat to receive the Mogul's present usual on such occasions. This donation consisted of a fine horse richly caparisoned, a complete suit of clothes made of atlasses, a kind of sattin with wrought flowers of gold and silver; a rich turban, embroidered shoes, and a dagger of great value, suspended from a fine sash. Equipped in this attire, the general or governor is presented with the phirmaund by the Mogul's messenger, who admonishes him to shew himself deserving of this great distinction by the propriety and uprightness of his conduct. Mr. Vaux having received the phirmaund in a gilt box, put it upon his head, returning by the interpreter his acknowledgments of the honour, and his sense of the particular obligation he was under to the great monarch; after which ceremony he was conducted by the Mogul's governor from the garden where it was performed, into the city, amidst the acclamations of an in-

finite concourse of people, who welcomed his accession to his rank with shouts of joy, as he passed the English factory.

After remaining about a week at Surat, Mr. Vaux sent to acquaint the Mogul governor of the necessity he was under of returning to his charge at Bombay. In answer, he was politely told that as no other person could be intrusted by the Mogul to see the contract performed, it was hoped he would not think of leaving the city, lest the king should repent of the favours conferred upon the company whose commission he bore. Thus was Mr. Vaux detained a hostage for the security of the performance of the articles entered into by his masters. From this time the president was obliged to reside at Surat, having under his direction and controul a deputy at Bombay. War and pestilence had made dreadful havock among the Europeans in this island, insomuch that out of eight hundred English, there remained not more than sixty. Thus from a delightful and populous place, Bombay was almost reduced to a solitary desert. A spirit of avarice and cruel injustice nevertheless still remained, which no calamities could subdue. The survivors were denied the liberty of returning to their native country, or of pursuing their fortunes in India by private trade. They were detained in the company's service under the lash of authority, insolence, and oppression, without a ray of hope.

At this period the merchants of London, and other commercial cities, displeased with the privileges which excluded them from the India trade, or admitted them only to an inconsiderable part of it, entered A. D. 1698.

into an association, and offered government terms more advantageous than those of the existing company, in order that the exclusive charter might be transferred to themselves. This proposal was well received by a majority of the house of commons, and a bill was brought in for the purpose, with additional regulating clauses. In opposition to this a petition was presented by the old company, representing their rights and claims under so many royal charters—the regard due to the property of more than a thousand families interested in the stock, as also to the company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of annual revenue. They alleged that they had expended a million sterling in fortifications: that during the late war they had lost twelve ships, worth at least fifteen hundred thousand pounds: that since the last subscription they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the customs, with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes: that they had furnished six thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very pressing occasion; and eighty thousand pounds for the circulation of exchequer-bills, at a critical juncture, by the desire of the lords of the Treasury, who acknowledged that their compliance on that occasion was a very important service to the government. But notwithstanding this remonstrance, and the offer of fresh and liberal terms on the part of the petitioners, the old company was dissolved, and a new one established.

A. D. 1700. Two years, however, had scarcely elapsed before the old East-India company again presented another petition,

begging that their privileges might be continued during the remaining part of the time prescribed by their charter. At the same time they published a state of their case, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had sustained. They now carried their point, and two rival companies of merchants trading to the East-Indies were established which were afterward united; when it was stipulated that both companies should, for the seven years next ensuing, share equally in the administration of all affairs relating to their funds or commerce; and that twelve persons should be elected by the General Court of each company, to be denominated in the new charter the Managers of the United Trade to India, and that a new and additional stock should be raised for the support and increase of the future trade. These with other articles were the foundation of that union, which terminated the animosities and hatreds that had long existed between the individuals of the rival companies.

But notwithstanding the amicable state of affairs which had been brought about at home by this union, rancour and jealousy subsisted abroad; for what originally had its rise from interested and selfish notions was now become constitutional, as it were by habit.

Nothing but the cement of avarice and self-interest had united the British subjects, engaged in this trade. By means of this, persons who secretly entertained the greatest aversion for each other, were forced to a certain degree of co-operation and mutual effort in order to obtain their several ends. Hence every opportunity of

enriching themselves at the expence of their constituents was seized by the governors and factors. The divisions among the servants of each company arose from opposite private interests, as much as from the enmities between the companies themselves. Neither honour, justice, nor humanity, was regarded, whenever an occasion of injuring each other, or advancing their private interests, occurred; all was conducted by fraud or open force. The ministry were occupied with reducing the exorbitant power of the house of Bourbon; the balance of Europe engrossed their whole attention, and prevented their finding any leisure for the more tranquil concerns of manufactures, trade, and commerce. There is nothing, however, more obvious, than that commerce ought to be a principal concern with a British ministry; since the extension of trade is the sole genuine method of advancing the power and credit of the nation. Our naval force will ever render us considerable abroad; but this cannot be maintained by any other means than promoting a spirit of navigation and trade.

The company had a settlement in the island of Palo Condore, subject to the monarch of Cochin-China, and inhabited chiefly by the natives of that country. The English had been established here ever since the year 1702, when they built a slight fort with earth and palisadoes, mounting on it a few pieces of cannon. It was garrisoned with about forty-five Europeans including the agents and servants, with eight Topasses and eighteen Bugasses. While yet not firmly fixed in their new post, and unacquainted with the manners, disposition, and in-

clinations of the inhabitants towards them, the English ventured to prohibit these people from keeping arms in their custody on any pretence whatever. The misfortune which happened to the factory is attributed to the disgust of the Bugas or Macassar soldiers, who were threatened with corporal punishment for suffering two slaves belonging to the factory to escape. The revenge which they meditated was cruel, and speedily put into execution. At night, on the third of March, while the garrison was asleep, they set fire to the houses within the fort, and murdered their occupiers as they ran out to extinguish the flames. More than thirty of the English were massacred amidst the confusion of this scene; twelve only out of the forty-five escaping the resentment of the Macassars, by means of a sloop that lay in the harbour. A. D. 1705.

The Cochin-Chinese took possession of the fort, promising to protect the surviving English, and take ample vengeance on the assassins, who had fled. They even apprehended one of these traitors and put him to death; but, nevertheless, in a few days, without the smallest provocation, they fell upon the English that remained, put most of them to death, and seized upon their effects, on the most frivolous pretences.

The governor and council of Bencoolen had resolved, on account of the unwholesomeness of that situation, to remove the factory to some distance from its present spot. For this purpose the ground was traced out for Marlborough-fort, and the work was carried on with great vigour and spirit. The natives observing that this new fortification A. D. 1719.

was rapidly advancing, were jealous of the design, and vowed an absolute destruction of the power which they began to dread. They concealed their plans, however, and exhibited so little appearance of resentment, that the work went on without any alarm on the part of the English. At length a general insurrection broke out, when the English, labouring under a great many disadvantages, thought it vain to hazard their lives against so numerous an enemy. The fort was destroyed by fire, and its founders endeavoured to save their lives by swimming, or getting on board the boats, in the best manner they were able, but many were lost in the attempt.

Although the English were thus driven from Bencoolen, their best settlement on the island of Sumatra, they were permitted by the natives to return in the following year, and proceed without interruption in the building of Marlborough-fort; and from this time the affairs of the company went on prosperously. Attempts were again made to lay open the trade; which alarmed the company so much that they offered new and much more advantageous proposals to the ministry, for an assurance of the exclusive right of trading to the East-Indies. Accordingly a law was soon passed, by which all their powers, privileges, and immunities, were confirmed.

Such was the situation of the English East-India company till about the year 1743, when a rivalry between France and Britain for the commerce of the East began to display itself. The French company, the centre of whose trade was, at that time, their settlement of Pondi-

cherry, aware of their own inferiority, proposed a neutrality in this part of the world, while a desperate war was carrying on in Europe; to this the English would not consent, and in 1745 they sent out a squadron to intercept the French homeward-bound ships, three of which, very richly laden, they captured. They then laid siege to Pondicherry, which, as well as Madras, withstood their efforts, and remained in the hands of the French till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The two companies having engaged to support the nabobs who were respectively attached to them, continued long in a state of warfare in the character of auxiliaries to those princes. They afterwards attacked each other openly and directly. The success of our countrymen has been, as we shall see, so great, that there is no European nation at present which carries on in India so extensive a trade. They no longer appear as merchants, supported merely by their industry; but as warriors, conquerors, and sovereigns, whose armies proudly traverse the whole peninsula, and whose flag is borne triumphantly over every part of the ocean.

At this period, both nations had made themselves masters of considerable possessions in India. The principal of those belonging to Britain were, Surat, Bombay, Dabul, Carwar, Tellicherry, Anjengo, Fort St. David, Madras, Visigapatam, Balasore, and Calcutta; those of the French were Pondicherry and Chandernagore.

This war is said to have been occasioned by the intrigues of the French commandant M. Dupleix, who, immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, began to sow dissension among

the nabobs by whom the sovereignty of the country had been usurped. Nizam, viceroy of Deccan and nabob of Arcot, had, as officer of the Mogul, nominated Anaverdy Khan to be governor of the Carnatic. On the death of Nizam, his second son Nazir-sing was appointed to succeed him in his vice-royalty, to which his cousin Muzaphier-sing made a serious opposition, and applied to Dupleix for assistance. By him he was supplied with a body of Europeans, and some artillery; after which, being also joined by Chunda Saib, an active Indian prince, he took the field against Nazir, by whom, with the assistance of the British under colonel Lawrence, he was defeated and taken prisoner. His life was spared; but the clemency shewn to him was ill requited; for the first opportunity that offered was seized to murder the victorious prince in his camp. In this transaction he was aided and encouraged by Dupleix and Chunda Saib, who had retired to Pondicherry. Immense riches were found in the tents of Nazir-sing, great part of which fell to the share of Dupleix, whom Muzaphier-sing now associated with him in the government. They appointed Chunda Saib nabob of Arcot. On the other hand, Mohammed Ali Khan had a claim to this high office, and was supported in his pretensions by the English, with whom he entered into a strict alliance, and willingly ceded to them some important commercial points which had been long in dispute. In this manner the French and English East-India companies were engaged in a course of hostilities, at a time when no war existed between the two countries.

A. D. 1745.

Both parties received considerable reinforcements: the English by the arrival of admiral Watson with a squadron of ships of war; and the French by M. Gadeheu, commissary and governor-general of all their settlements, on whose arrival M. Dupleix departed for Europe. The new governor made the most friendly proposals; and desired a cessation of arms, until the disputes could be adjusted in Europe. These terms being readily listened to on the part of the English, deputies were sent to Pondicherry, and a provincial treaty and truce were concluded, on condition that neither of the two companies should, for the future, interfere in any of the differences that might take place between the princes of the country. The other articles related to the places or settlements that should be retained or possessed by each party, until fresh orders should arrive from the courts of London and Versailles: and till such time it was stipulated, that neither of the two nations should be allowed to procure any new grant or acquisition of territory, or to build forts in defence of any new establishment; nor should they proceed to any cession, retrocession, or evacuation, of what they then possessed; but every thing should remain on the same footing as before the commencement of hostilities. This treaty was published early in the month of January; and soon after admiral Watson returned with his squadron from Bombay, and M. Gadehue to France. A. D. 1753. A. D. 1755.

Matters, however, did not long continue in a state of tranquillity. The French soon shewed a disposition to get possession of all the pro-

vinces of Deccan ; and they openly opposed the English who were employed by the nabob to collect his revenues from the tributary princes. In this office persons of the latter nation had been employed ever since the cessation of hostilities ; one half of the revenue being paid to the nabob, and the other half to the company, which now involved them in a military expedition into the country of the Polygars, who had been previously summoned to send agents to settle some accounts with the nabob. Four of them obeyed the mandate, and the fifth was obliged, in a short time, to submit, and pay the required tribute.

The English army then marched to Madura, a strong Indian town sixty miles south of Trinchinopoli, the gates of which were thrown open to them on their approach, and the inhabitants seemed well pleased with this change of government. Here a deputation was received from a neighbouring Polygar, desiring an alliance, and, as a proof of his sincerity, making an offer of two settlements on the sea-coast of his country opposite to the island of Ceylon, which would greatly facilitate their future commerce with Tinivelly. Hitherto the English could not have reached that city but by a circuitous route of four or five hundred miles ; but from the proffered settlements, the distance to Tinivelly was no more than fifty miles, and reinforcements or supplies of any kind might be sent to them from Madras or Fort St. David, in four or five days. This offer was accepted, and colonel Heron, the English commander, marched against the governor of Madura, who had fled to a place called Coilgoody, which the colonel attacked af-

ter the Indian manner, by burning down the gates with bundles of straw; and to encourage the men in this new practice, he himself carried the first torch, being followed by Mohammed Issouf, who bore the second. The place was taken and plundered, not sparing even the temples; which inspired the inhabitants with the utmost abhorrence of the victors, on account of the contempt thus shewn to their religion.

After this expedition the army returned to Madura; and a garrison being left in the place, they proceeded to Tinivelly, which instantly submitted, but a few of the Polygars still evaded payment, and therefore hostilities were commenced against them.

The new enterprise was marked by an act of the most disgraceful cruelty, at a fort named Nellecotah. It was fortified by a mud wall, with round towers. The assault was made with great resolution; and the troops having gained possession of the parapet, the garrison cried out for quarter, which was inhumanly refused: a general massacre of men, women, and children, ensued, only six persons out of four hundred being suffered to escape with life.

It now appeared that the revenues collected in this expedition had not been sufficient to defray the expences of the army; and colonel Heron was recalled to Trinchinopoli. Before this he had been prevailed upon by the Indian chief to transfer to him the countries of Madura and Tinivelly, for an annual rent of 187,500l.

The last attempt of this commander was against Volsynatam, situated near the entrance of the woods belonging to the Colleries. These people were highly incens- A. D. 1755.

ed at the plundering of Coilgoody, and particularly at the loss of their sacred images, which the rapacious conquerors had carried off. In consequence of this, they had already slaughtered a party of sepoys, whom the commanding officer at Madura had sent out to forage; and in colonel Heron's march they attacked his army, did considerable damage, and recovered their gods; which, however, were not worth carrying away, being very small and made of brass.

After this, affairs went on successfully with the English company, till a fresh danger arose from the displeasure of Sujah Dowla, the new nabob of Bengal. He was congratulated on his accession by Mr. Drake, the English president at Calcutta, who requested his favour and protection in behalf of his countrymen, which was readily promised; but in a short time, under pretence of an insult committed against him by repairing the fortifications of Calcutta, the nabob declared war, and took the field with an army of forty thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and four hundred elephants. He invested the English fort of Cassumbazar, a large town situated on an island formed by the western branch of the Ganges. The nabob professing a desire to treat, Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, put himself into his power, and was instantly made a close prisoner, with Mr. Batson, a surgeon, who accompanied him. These two gentlemen were treated with great indignity, and, on the surrender of the factory, Messrs. Watts and Batson were deprived of every thing they possessed, and sent to Huquely, where they were closely confined.

A. D. 1756.

The nabob marched directly to Calcutta, and

threatened to drive the English entirely out of his dominions: nevertheless he proposed an accommodation with Mr. Drake, on condition of the English agreeing to pay his duty upon the trade for fifteen years, defray the expences of the nabob's army, and deliver up the Indian merchants who were in the fort. This being refused, Sujah Dowla laid siege to the place, which was taken in three days, through the treachery of a Dutch guard who had charge of the gate. The nabob promised, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should be done to the English; nevertheless the capricious tyrant, instead of observing the capitulation, forced Mr. Holwel, the governor's chief servant, and one hundred and forty-five British subjects, into a small prison called the black-hole, a place about eighteen feet square, and shut them up from almost all communication with the fresh air. Their miseries during the night were inexpressible; and before morning no more than twenty-three were found alive, the rest having died of suffocation, which was generally attended with the most horrible frenzy. Among the saved was Mr. Holwel, who gave the public a very affecting narrative of the whole affair: he has, however, long since paid the debt of nature; and one only of the twenty-three is known at this moment to survive, captain Mills, who resides in the neighbourhood of London, and though eighty-six years of age, enjoys his health and faculties with surprising vigour.* The nabob

* Another gentleman, whose name is not recollected, but who now resides in the vicinity of Southampton, is likewise said to have been among the number of those who were confined in this horrible prison.

returned to his capital, after plundering the place, imagining that he had routed the English from his territory; but the seasonable arrival of admiral Watson, and colonel afterwards lord Clive, enabled them to regain possession of Calcutta. And the war was concluded by the battle of Plassey, in which the colonel was victorious, and the death of the tyrant Surajah Dowla; on which Mhir Jaffeir, one of his generals, who had previously signed a secret treaty with Clive to desert his master and amply reward the English, was advanced, of course, to the vacant throne.

A. D. 1758. In this year the French made an attempt on Trinchinopoli, which was in no condition to withstand the power sent out against it; but they had not long been in possession of the town, before they were obliged to retreat, and return to Pondicherry. The battles and sieges, at this period, were numerous, and seldom terminated in any very important advantage to either party.

Twice, however, were the French defeated by sea, with the loss of fifteen hundred men killed and wounded. From this time, although Lally, the French general, had taken Fort St. David, the affairs of the French daily declined, while those of the English were almost every where prosperous. In the mean time, Mhir Jaffier, the new nabob of Bengal, found himself very disagreeably situated. The treasure of his predecessor had been estimated at eighty millions sterling, and in expectation of such a vast sum, Jaffier had submitted to enormous exactions made by the English. On his accession the treasures fell so much short of his ex-

pectation, that he was unable to fulfil his engagements; and on that account they who had advanced him to his dignity now determined to dethrone him. Plausible reasons for this purpose were not wanting; a number of charges were exhibited against him, and he was, for a time, reduced to a private situation.

In the sequel, however, he was restored to his sovereignty; and it should be recollected that, besides the enormous sums exacted by the English at his accession, he had ceded to them a large extent of territory, and granted them so many privileges and immunities in trade, that he had in a manner deprived himself of his resources, and it was almost impossible for him to defray the necessary expences without either extorting money from his subjects, or infringing the privileges he had so inconsiderately granted. A. D. 1761.

Jaffier lived but four years after his reinstatement in power; and died the merely nominal nabob of Bengal. His son and grandson being competitors for the succession, the English, who were in fact absolute sovereigns of the country, decided in favour of the son; and Najem il Dowla, a youth of only eighteen years of age, assumed the government. With every requisition, however unjust and tyrannical, made by the English, the young nabob was obliged to comply: he settled upwards of 800,000l. annually on the company, and discarded his prime minister, who was his personal favourite; in short he found himself obliged to submit to whatever submissions and mortifications the council of Calcutta thought proper to impose. A. D. 1765.

These extraordinary powers, exerted in such a

despotic manner for such a length of time, by these governors at Calcutta, induced their superiors to circumscribe them in some degree, by appointing others who should act independently even of this council, and who might be supposed to be actuated by more upright and honourable principles. The character which lord Clive had already gained in the East, deservedly marked him out as a proper person for adjusting the affairs of Bengal.

This nobleman found that the success of the British arms could be productive of nothing but wars; and that the ruin of Sujah Dowla, nabob of Oude, which had been effected, was the breaking down the strongest barrier which the Bengal provinces could have against the incursions of the Mahrattas and other barbarous people to the westward, who had long been in the habit of desolating the northern provinces. His lordship, therefore, concluded a treaty with Sujah Dowla, by which he obtained for himself the office of collector of the revenues for the province of Bengal and its dependencies. The company were to pay 325,000l. besides an annual sum of 662,500l. to the nabob of Bengal, for the expences of government, and the support of his dignity: the remainder of the revenues of Bengal was allotted to them, who, on their part, guaranteed the territories at that time in possession of Sujah Dowla and the Mogul.

Thus the company acquired the sovereignty of a territory equal in extent to the most flourishing kingdom in Europe. By all this, however, they were so far from being enriched, that the disorder of their affairs attracted the attention of government; and gave the British ministry an

opportunity at last of subjecting the province of Bengal to the authority of the crown.

New misfortunes speedily occurred, and the company found a most formidable enemy in Hyder Ally, who, joined by the nizam of Deccan, attacked the English, and was completely defeated; after which the nizam thought it advisable to make terms with the conquerors, though it was at the expence of large territorial possessions.

Hyder, thus deserted by his ally, transferred the seat of war to a mountainous country, where he found that nothing decisive could be effected, while the Indian cavalry was sometimes enabled to cut off the supplies and interrupt the communications of their antagonists. During these operations, some ships were fitted out at Bombay, with a view of attacking Mangalore, one of Hyder Ally's sea-ports, where all his ships lay. This enterprise proved successful, and nine ships were captured and brought away; but too small a garrison being left in the place, it was almost immediately retaken, and all who were in it made prisoners of war. A. D. 1767.

In the mean time, an injudicious measure adopted by the English in their method of managing the army, proved of the utmost detriment to their cause, and occasioned disgraces hitherto unheard of in the history of the nation. The original cause of this mischief was the appointment of field-deputies to attend the army, and to controul and superintend the conduct of the commander in chief; and these being deeply concerned in the contracts for the army, took care to regulate its motions in such a manner

as best suited their private interest and convenience. Hyder Ally did not fail to improve to his own advantage the errors occasioned by this kind of management. General Smith had penetrated far into the country, taken several of his fortresses, and had the prospect of becoming master of that prince's capital, when all his operations were at once checked by the field-deputies. His antagonist being thus allowed some respite, suddenly entered the Carnatic with a numerous army of horse, ravaging and destroying every thing at pleasure. This daring invader had raised himself from an humble situation, to an extensive empire in the East, and had now established such a military force as India had never before witnessed and was supposed incapable of producing. He had more than once disputed the honour of victory with the English company; and though frequently defeated, yet he still appeared terrible, and had even menaced with his martial squadrons the capital of the British sovereigns of the East, who were frequently confounded by the rapid evolutions of a cavalry that precluded all flight and derided all pursuit.

The war was carried on some time without any general advantage to either party; and although Hyder Ally's army suffered a signal defeat from the valour and prudence of colonel Wood, yet the triumph of his adversaries was more than overbalanced by the divisions and discontents among their officers and council, which were continually increasing: the soldiers even deserted in numbers, and the affairs of this nation seemed to be hastening to ruin.

The revenues of the establishment of Madras

being unequal to the expences of the war, large remittances were sent from Bengal to answer that purpose; but as these were made in a kind of base gold coin, the company is said, by that means alone, to have lost forty thousand pounds in the difference of exchange. At last Hyder suddenly appeared within a few miles of Madras, which occasioned such alarm that the presidency there were induced to enter into a negociation with him. The Indian prince, on his part, was ready to listen to proposals of peace, on any reasonable terms. An offensive and defensive treaty was, therefore, concluded, on the conditions only that the forts and places taken on both sides should be restored, and each party pay his own expences. A. D. 1769.

By this treaty it was stipulated, that in case either of the parties was attacked by its enemies, the other should give it assistance. Hyder Ally being soon after involved in a war with the Mahrattas, he demanded the aid that had been solemnly agreed on; which on the part of the English was refused.

An opportunity shortly after occurred of expressing his indignation at this infraction of the treaty. He had also received fresh provocation to justify in his mind an open attack against that nation. In the hour of presumptuous confidence, they had violated the dignity of his throne by the capture of Mahe, a French establishment on the coast of Malabar, within his dominions, and under his protection. This insult had awakened those resentments which had rather been suspended than extinguished by former treaties: the supineness A. D. 1780.

of the government of Madras encouraged his hopes; he penetrated through the gauts, or narrow passes in the mountains which separate his territories from those of the English, and with a celerity that exceeds all example extended his bloody ravages over the face of the country. A considerable detachment, the flower of the English army on that coast, was overwhelmed after a gallant resistance by the irresistible force of his cavalry: while general Monro, who commanded the principal army belonging to the settlement of Madras, was reduced to the necessity of retreating before the torrent of his arms. Madras even trembled for her safety; and the progress of the victor was only checked by the arrival of general Coote with a large reinforcement from the province of Bengal. After an obstinate conflict Hyder was compelled to relinquish the field to the superior skill of that veteran commander, and the persevering valour of his troops; but his numerous cavalry was still spread over the fertile fields of the Carnatic, and extended on every side the terror of his name.

By these successes the presidency of Madras being allowed some respite, an enterprise was planned against the Dutch settlement of Negapatam, which was crowned with success. Shortly afterward Trincomale was added to the number of captures made by the British arms.

A. D. 1782. From this period the war was carried on at sea between the English and French, with various success at first, but ultimately to the advantage of the British navy, the glory of which was displayed in a number of signal victories.

The contest on land was not, however, less furious. In the general destruction of the French settlements at the commencement of hostilities, a small body of troops had found shelter in the dominions of Hyder Ally, and ever since, under the command of M. Lally, had given stability to the operations of that enterprising prince. They now in conjunction with Tippoo Saib, the son of Hyder, and who inherited the daring spirit of his father, attacked a British detachment under colonel Brathwaite, who had encamped on the banks of the Coleroon for the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. The small but select corps under this officer consisted of two thousand veteran infantry, with two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two successive days they repulsed with undaunted resolution the reiterated attacks of Hyder's horse, though amounting to the formidable number of twenty thousand; but on the third day they were broken by the charge of four hundred French who advanced with fixed bayonets, led on by Lally himself. The humanity of that officer was not less conspicuous than his courage: he not only issued orders for putting a stop to the carnage, but hastened personally, and with great hazard to his own life, to chastise and restrain the savage fury of the black cavalry, five of whom perished by his own hand in the generous exertion. He also prevailed on Tippoo Saib to commit the prisoners to his care, and endeavoured to soothe their misfortunes by every mark of kindness and respect.

Hyder Ally, whose aspiring genius had so

long and severely agitated the whole of the East, sunk, this year, into the grave, and left behind him a character scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of that quarter of the world. His mind was so vast and comprehensive, as at once to reach and embrace all parts of the war and of government: as a warrior, the Carnatic was a mournful testimony to his achievements; as a statesman, the internal regulation of his own territories proclaimed his sagacity. Though daring in war, he was far from being naturally cruel; and strictly observant of his own word, he punished with rigour in others that breach of faith which he abhorred. He contemned and dispensed with as much as possible, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers, and displaying in his own person the frank manners of a soldier, instead of the proud distance and austere reserve of an eastern despot.

His son Tippoo Saib, equally bold, prompt, and vigilant, but less scrupulous and more ferocious, was the heir of his throne and his enterprises. He was already distinguished by his successive victories over colonel Baillie in the Carnatic, and colonel Brathwaite on the banks of the Coleroon; and it was soon discovered that the accession to royalty had not damped his ardour, or chilled his martial spirit. General Matthews had penetrated with a select detachment to Bednore, the capital of the wealthy kingdom of Canore; his progress is said to have been marked by cruelty and avarice, and his rapacity to have not only stimulated him to plunder, with unfeeling assiduity, the prostrate city,

but even to defraud his companions of their portion of the spoils. He, however, had scarcely time to indulge in the contemplation of his newly acquired riches, before he was alarmed by the approach of Tippoo Saib, who, with an host of cavalry, and the small corps of French under the command of M. Lally, pressed forward to attack the invader. The English commander marched out to meet the exasperated tyrant, but neither his strength nor his skill seemed proportioned to the contest: his ranks were instantly broken by the charge of the French; with the loss of five hundred men he retired within the walls of Bednore, and soon after signed a capitulation, which, with a promise only of their lives and liberties, delivered himself and his troops into the power of Tippoo Saib. That capitulation was soon violated, and the unfortunate general is reported to have perished by poison: several of the principal officers were barbarously murdered; and the scanty remnant that were released at the conclusion of the peace, had experienced sufferings that rendered the state of their slaughtered companions enviable.

The hostile ardour of the French and English squadrons, repressed by a sense of their own danger, and to avoid the monsoons that scatter destruction along the coast of Coromandel, each sought shelter in their respective harbours; but that tempestuous season had no sooner elapsed, than the spirit of enterprise revived, and warlike operations were carried on with the greatest alacrity, on both sides. News now arrived of a peace having been concluded between Great Britain and France: a mutual cessation of hostilities, and restoration of prisoners, immediately

took place; and the tranquillity so long desired by all parties, was extended from the other quarters of the globe to the settlements of the East-India company, and the war-worn veterans of Asia.

The pacification in 1784 was expedient and necessary both to the English and the sultan of Mysore; but it was not calculated to secure permanent tranquillity. The principles and passions which had given birth to the preceding war remained; and the exhaustion that had reduced the aggressors to terms of peace had been repaired by prudence and the natural course of things. The power that preponderated in the peninsula of Hindostan had been checked, but not subdued.

The dominions of Mysore extended over a tract of country five hundred miles in length, and three hundred and fifty in breadth; by nature the strongest, the most fertile and populous in the peninsula, and governed by one of the greatest princes who had appeared in the East for several ages. He was enterprising, prudent, and politic, but cruel and ferocious; a fanatic in the Mohammedan religion, a zealous adversary to all Europeans, and an irreconcilable foe of the English. The hatred which he bore to this nation he extended to the Mahratta states and the nizam of Deccan, on account of their desertion during the war in which they engaged as allies of Hyder. He recruited his strength by a wise and diligent improvement of some years of peace, and considered his present possessions merely as a foundation for future conquests. He did not even affect to conceal his antipathy to the English: being high-spirited and impetuous, he was at little pains to disguise his views

of future aggrandisement; and with these sentiments he sent a splendid embassy to the court of France, to solicit an alliance with that power for the purpose of expelling those whom he termed the tyrants of Calcutta. A. D. 1787.

It was impossible for the English East-India company to hear of the preparations of Tippoo with indifference, or without taking measures for guarding against his encroachments. The greatest danger was apprehended for the Carnatic. Here accordingly the preparations for defence were most extensive, and most vigorous. Granaries were established on the frontiers and other stations, containing supplies for more than thirty thousand men for twelve months. A complete train of battering and of field artillery was prepared, surpassing all that had ever been seen on the coast. Every thing wore a pleasing aspect, and gave confidence to those who were likely to be engaged in the approaching contest.

The states to the north of the Mysore were obliged to take measures for their safety. Of these the two most considerable were the Mahrattas and the Nizam: and though there existed an hereditary enmity between the two; although they differed in laws, in institutions, and religion; urged by the common danger, they forgot or suspended their quarrels, and joined in the closest union.

Tippoo marched his army down the Gauts toward the Malabar coast, evidently with hostile designs against the rajah of Travancore. He first attempted to detach him from the alliance of the English, A. D. 1788.

and to persuade him to throw himself under his protection. He then encouraged the rajah of Cochin, one of his tributaries, to lay claim to part of the ground upon which the lines are built which defend Travancore on the north, the only quarter where it is accessible to an invading army. He seemed very desirous of getting possession of this kingdom, which would have made him master of the Malabar coast, and enabled him at any time, with ease, to invade the Carnatic.

Alarmed at the danger, the rajah dispatched a messenger to Madras to inform the English government of the movements of Tippoo. Sir Archibald Campbell sent some troops to his assistance; and declared that if Tippoo should attack the lines of Travancore, it would be considered by the English as a declaration of war. The steps were approved by the supreme government of Bengal; and Tippoo, awed by this resolute opposition, withdrew his troops and returned to Seringapatam.

A. D. 1789. The following summer, however, produced a plausible pretence for executing his scheme, and spread the flames of war all over India. The Dutch, from the vicinity of Cochin to the Mysore, trembled for their most valuable possessions. Their two ports of Cranganore and Jacottah they offered for sale to the rajah of Travancore, who eagerly accepted of the terms. Tippoo was, or pretended to be, highly incensed at this transaction. He asserted that he was the sovereign of that part of the Malabar coast, and that of course no transfer could be made of the property without his leave; and upon the rajah's refusal

to relinquish the purchase, he marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of Travancore, which he attempted to take by storm. At first he carried every thing before him; but the fortune of the day soon changed, and the sultan escaped from the enemy with great difficulty. In his retreat he was thrown from his horse into a ditch, where he was severely bruised. Galled at this disappointment and disgrace, he made a vow never again to wear his turban till he had taken the lines of Travancore. Accordingly he sent to Mysore for supplies of troops and battering-cannon, and prepared to besiege them by regular approach.

The English attempted to settle this affair by negociation: but Tippoo, confident of his strength, already considered Travancore as his own; from which he foresaw there would be no difficulty in crossing over to the Coromandel coast, driving the English from the Carnatic, pursuing them from Bengal, and finally extirpating them from India: such were the delusive hopes of the sultan. The juncture was still more favourable to the views of his enemies. The English had formed a close alliance with the Mahratta states, and the nizam of Deccan. Their own affairs were in a state of unexampled prosperity. Tippoo's first attacks were completely successful: Jacottah, Paroor, and Curiapilly, successively surrendered to his arms; and not a fort in the northern part of his dominions remained in the possession of the unfortunate rajah. He was obliged to remain an inactive spectator of the devastations of Tippoo, who now laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. But the triumphs of Tippoo were but of short duration.

The career which he began so prosperously was to be terminated in his defeat and disgrace, in the loss of his dominions, and nearly in the extinction of his power.

War was now publicly declared against Mysore, by the supreme government of Bengal: an army of fifteen thousand men was formed in the Carnatic, and one of nearly half that number in the presidency of Bombay. Tippoo, daunted by these vigorous measures, and alarmed at the storm that he saw gathering in every direction, made offers of submission, which were treated with contempt. "The English, equally "incapable of offering an insult, as of sub-"mitting to one," said general Meadows to him in reply, "have always looked upon war as de-"clared from the moment that you attacked "their ally the king of Travancore. God does "not always give the battle to the strong, nor "the race to the swift; but generally success to "those whose cause is just: on that we de-"pend."

The war was carried on with the greatest fury on both sides: an almost incalculable number of lives were lost; and early in the year 1792 Tippoo found himself in a very critical situation. Of his extensive dominions he retained in February only a single fort, and this he had reason to fear would not much longer be tenable. To the British general, lord Cornwallis, he attributed all his misfortunes; and he now made a daring attempt to extricate himself from his difficulties, by aiming a secret blow at his life: fortunately the assassins were conducted by a guide who was not properly informed as to the situation of his lordship's tent.

A. D. 1792.

Had their information been more accurate, or had their judgment been equal to their spirit, they might very probably have effected their atrocious design.

Seringapatam was the place at which all the British force was assembled: it was exceedingly strong, and difficult of approach. Every thing was ready for commencing the attack; and Tippoo, alarmed at the resolution and preparations of the British army, and fearing that a breach would soon be followed up by an assault, thought of an expedient by which he proposed to retard such an event. He sent a body of soldiers, who cut off a stream of water which ran through the English camp. But it was soon reconveyed to its former channel, by a detachment sent by lord Cornwallis to investigate the cause of the failure of the usual supply; who drove the Mysoreans from its banks, and established themselves in a station on the spot to protect it during the remainder of the siege.

In the mean time the operations were carried on with vigour, and promised soon to be brought to a happy conclusion on the part of the besiegers: indeed, no doubt was now entertained of a speedy surrender, or capture by assault, of this last hope of Tippoo; and the soldiers already considered as their own the immense treasures which the town contained.

Tippoo had often sought for peace: he now renewed his solicitations; and as in this instance he appeared to be actuated by sincerity, lord Cornwallis, at the representations of the Mahrattas and the nizam, agreed to his proposal for the appointment of commissioners to settle the terms. Tippoo, it afterwards appeared,

made this application with a view only of gaining time, in the expectation of having succour and supplies from Bednore. None, however, arrived; when, looking upon his affairs as desperate, being importuned by all his friends, and fearing sedition within the fort from farther obstinacy, he submitted, and the preliminary articles of peace were signed. These were exceedingly humiliating to the sultan, but glorious to the British arms: it was stipulated that he should cede one half of his dominions to the allied powers; pay them three crores and thirty lacks of rupees; that he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners which had been taken by the Mysoreans, from the time of Hyder Ally; and that two of his sons should be delivered up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

In conformity to these terms, the treasure was carried out, and the young princes conducted to the English camp. This ceremony was performed with great pomp. The princes were mounted on elephants magnificently caparisoned, and attended by a numerous suite. Vast crowds, actuated by curiosity or affection, assembled to witness their departure. Lord Cornwallis, attended by his staff, met the princes at the door of the tent, conducted them in, and treated them with the utmost respect and tenderness. They were dressed in long white muslin gowns and red turbans. They had several rows of large pearls round their necks, from which was suspended an ornament consisting of a ruby and an emerald of considerable size, surrounded with large brilliants; and in their turbans each had a string of rich pearls. Educated from their infancy with

infinite care, and instructed in their manners to imitate the reserve and politeness of their rank, it astonished every one present to observe the correctness and propriety of their conduct.

Notwithstanding these princes were delivered into the power of the enemy, yet Tippoo refused to negociate till lord Cornwallis issued orders for the recommencement of the siege, and for the young hostages to be sent to the Carnatic. Upon this show of vigour and resolution Tippoo became daunted, knowing that if hostilities should recommence they would probably not terminate but in his utter destruction. He therefore sent word that he would submit to the demands of the victors: and the definitive treaty, as dictated by lord Cornwallis, was delivered by his sons to the ambassadors of the three allied powers, with the greatest solemnity.

Thus ended a war which rescued the company from the dangers to which it was exposed by the inveterate hostility of the most powerful neighbours; who were constantly disposed, from interest and connection, to unite with France. The territories of which Tippoo was divested were divided into three equal parts, between the allied powers. This act of good faith to our allies, and the separate arrangements made by lord Cornwallis with the nabobs of Oude and the Carnatic, as well as the principal native rajahs, left a very honourable and advantageous impression of British justice on the memory of the natives and the princes of Asia.

When the peace was concluded with Tippoo Sultan, which left to the East-India company so considerable a portion of the territories of that

prince, an occasion presented itself to lord Cornwallis of availing himself of the great discoveries that had been made in Bengal relative to the ancient mode of collecting the landed revenue in India.

At that period the established salaries of the company's servants were trifling, and were still connected with the mercantile economy of the company when they had not acquired any territorial possessions of value.

The natives, who understood the mode of collecting the revenues, had naturally set aside a certain portion of the real collections for the system of patronage: and the company's superior officers received, as marks of gratitude, from those deputies or banians who were employed under them, that which was, without their knowledge, withheld from the public collections; since the details were specified in accounts which they did not understand. In due time the company became more generous to their servants; who, in return, made themselves masters of the language of the country, and the nature of these accounts.

When lord Cornwallis had obtained possession of those districts in the north-west frontiers of the Carnatic which Tippoo had been forced to give up, it was found that a system of revenue assessment and collection, nearly similar to that which had been discovered in Bengal, was employed in those countries. Lord Cornwallis took advantage of the discovery, and commissioned two military gentlemen to superintend the collection of the ceded revenue. The result was extremely favourable to the company, and

honourable to those gentlemen; the revenues have been doubled, and with additional relief to the natives.

On the Malabar side of India the cessions made by Tippoo required a more able management to realise these improvements. The revenues obtained there were paid by chiefs who had retained much of their feudal authority; and who were descended from the ancient Zamorins. Even the arms of Hyder and Tippoo had not reduced those countries to regular obedience; and the most perfect knowledge of the customs of the ancient Hindoos, as well as much political conciliation, was requisite to draw any real advantage from that part of the newly acquired possessions in the Mysore. Mr. Duncan, who had been advanced by lord Cornwallis to the administration of the celebrated province of Benares, was accordingly selected by his lordship for the final settlement of the Malabar districts; and ultimately recommended and appointed to the government of Bombay: a station of peculiar difficulty, from the number of its dependent factories, and their discordant interests.

As the charter of the East-India company would expire in the year 1794, it was the wish of many enlightened persons, friends to the rights of a free commerce, that the trade to the East should be thrown open, and the system of commercial monopoly for ever destroyed. But an act of parliament was passed to renew the charter for twenty years, on terms which varied very little from the existing regulations. A. D. 1792.

As soon as the late war was entered into between England and France, early intelligence was transmitted of the im- A. D. 1792.

portant event to the East-Indies; Pondicherry, Mahe, and the other French settlements on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, were captured, with little resistance, by the troops of the India company, under the conduct of general Stewart; and it was not till some years after that the French were able to make even a shew of resistance in that part of the world. The first attempt of this kind was seen in a letter sent to Tippoo, by Buonaparte, after he had gained a footing in Egypt; which signified a desire of co-operating with the sultan in delivering him and his subjects from the yoke of the English. Tippoo dispatched two ambassadors to the French government in the Isle of France, where they were received with every circumstance of distinction and respect, and during their continuance in the island, were entertained in a very superb style at the public expence. They proposed to levy men to any practicable extent, stating their powers to be unlimited, with respect to the number to be raised in the name of Tippoo. An alliance both offensive and defensive was concluded between them, and Tippoo was waiting with the greatest anxiety for the moment when the succour should enable him to satisfy his ardent desire of expelling the British from India.

A. D. 1797.

A. D. 1798.

The ambassadors from Tippoo embarked on board a French frigate with a force raised in the name of the sultan, amounting to about two hundred men, and arrived at Mangalore on the 26th of April.

While Tippoo was careful to augment his own European establishment, he laboured by every means to increase that of the nizam of the

Deccan, though this prince was in confederacy with the Mahrattas and English, in the hope of bringing him over to his interest.

About the same time that the British government in India were informed of this correspondence between Tippoo and the French, and the plot agitated in the army of the nizam, they learnt also, that an embassy had been dispatched to Zemaun Shah, a very powerful prince of Tartarean origin and of the Mohammedan faith, on the northern frontier of India, who was also the sovereign of Cabul, the ancient Bactria, and Kandahar, the object of which embassy was, to encourage that prince in his long-threatened invasion of India. Zemaun Shah was able to bring into the field one hundred and twenty thousand men: being a Mohammedan prince, naturally allied to Tippoo by religious opinions, habits, and that good-will which usually subsists between sovereign powers that are divided by the dominions of a common enemy, he was a natural and formidable foe to the British empire in India. Proofs of a secret correspondence between these princes were accordingly found after the destruction of the latter in his palace of Seringapatam: it was commenced previously to the war which terminated in 1792, and the same hostile and ambitious views marked it to its close. In a paper dated March 1796, we find instructions to the ambassadors sent by Tippoo to the king of Kandahar, relating to their conduct and deportment in their mission; their suite; their expences; the presents to be made to the chief officers of that prince; and the ceremonies to be observed at their audience, or reception.

In another paper there are two plans of co-operation between Tippoo and Zemaun Shah, which the ambassadors of the former were entrusted to propose to the latter. The first project was, that his majesty should remain in his capital, and send one of his noblemen, in whom he had confidence, to Delhi with an army, in order to depose the infirm monarch there, and place another in his stead. The second plan proposed by Tippoo to Zemaun Shah was, that the latter should proceed to Delhi, establish one of his confidential servants in the office of vizier, and return to his own capital.

Of these projects, lord Mornington, the British governor-general of India, was apprised; he saw in part to what they tended, and in a letter dated the 8th of November, he pointed out to Tippoo the danger that his connection with the French would occasion to his authority, the tranquillity of his dominions, the prosperity of his government, and the permanence of his religion. Some other letters passed between his lordship and the sultan, till at length war broke out; and on the 13th of April the batteries against Seringapatam were finished, when the assailants began to play upon the city, and on the 3rd day of May so much of the walls was destroyed that an arrangement was made for assaulting the place next day, when the breach was reported to be practicable. The troops intended to be employed were stationed in the trenches early on the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault, which general Harris had

A. D. 1799.

determined should be made in the heat of the day, the time best calculated to insure success, as the garrison would then be least prepared for making opposition. At one o'clock, the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and the ditch, and ascended the breaches and rampart of the fort, surmounting in the most gallant manner every obstacle in their way, and were completely successful.

Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo, for some time after all firing had ceased from the works. Two of his sons who were on this spot, however, surrendered to the troops surrounding them, on the assurance of safety; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace.

It was soon after reported that Tippoo was killed. Several of his chiefs also fell. Measures were instantly adopted to stop the confusion, at first unavoidable in a crowded city taken by assault. The princes were removed to the camp; search was then immediately made for the sultan's body, which, after much difficulty, was found late in the evening, at one of the gates, under a heap of slain, and was soon after placed in the palace. The body was, the next day, recognised by his family, and interred with all the honours due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father. Thus he who had left his palace in the morning, a powerful and imperious monarch, entertaining vast and ambitious projects, was brought back an inanimate corpse, his kingdom overthrown, his capital and his palace oc-

cupied by the very man, major-general Baird, who about fifteen years before had been, with the other victims of his cruelty and tyranny, released from nearly four years of rigid confinement in irons, in a prison scarcely three hundred yards from the spot where the dead body of the sultan now lay.

In this manner, after a short but brilliant career, fell the house or dynasty of Hyder. It was noble in proportion to the lowness of its origin, its founder Hyder Naig having been originally a private in the Mysorean service; splendid in its progress, and not inglorious in its fall. It is eminently distinguished from all the families or dynasties that have ever appeared in such quick succession in Hindostan, by a more extensive adoption, cultivation, and application, of European arts and arms, than had been known before in the dominions of any native power of Asia.

On the capture of Seringapatam, and the destruction of Tippoo, lord Mornington resolved to make such arrangements as might establish the British influence and authority in the subdued country. Commissioners appointed on the part of the company, and also in behalf of the nizam, promulgated on the twenty-fourth of June a scheme of partition and settlement. The capital, with its fortress and the island in which it is situated, together with some extensive districts, including Mangalore and a very considerable extent of sea-coast, were allotted to the English. A considerable portion was assigned to the nizam, and a separate territory was subjected to the sway of a descendant of the ancient

rajahs of Mysore, whose throne had been seized by Hyder Ally.

But the hostile designs and movements of Zemaun Shah against our settlements in India, would not have been discontinued, in consequence of the fall of Tippoo, if they had not been repressed by formidable military preparations, which he did not choose to encounter.

Since the death of Tippoo, the company has occasionally been disturbed by some of the natives, who had not willingly submitted to its extended power. A. D. 1801. In the beginning of this year, two severe actions were fought in the Carnatic, between the forces of the English East-India company and some insurgents. In the first attack, which was made with a very inferior force, the company's troops were repulsed with considerable loss; but they were finally successful, and completely routed their antagonists.

Some arrangements of a political nature have been made at Surat: the nabob has signed a new treaty, in consequence of which he has been solemnly placed on the Musnud, by his excellency governor Duncan, and his attachment to the interest of the company has thus been firmly secured.

The satisfaction which a native of Britain derives from a review of this prosperous state of our affairs in India; hostile combinations and designs confounded, territory extended, and revenue increased; is not altogether unmixed with a painful recollection of the blood which these advantages have cost, though that of an enemy, and of a princely family overthrown, and reduced to a state of dependence on their enemies.

As a pleasing contrast to advantages gained

by force, we shall give a short account of prosperity arising from a plan conceived in a spirit of moderation, justice, patriotism, and philanthropy.

The Prince of Wales's Island, in the entrance of the straits of Malacca, is happily situated for the convenience of trade with China, and other places to the eastward of China. It is of no inconsiderable extent, the climate is mild and salubrious, and the soil perfectly adapted for the production not only of provisions, but also of pepper, nutmegs, and other spices. It is within ten days' sailing of Madras, and hence its importance has been amply illustrated, by the protection which it has afforded to the trade carried on by the merchants in all our different presidencies in India. Malacca can afford no protection to trade, and on this account the Prince of Wales's Island was, during the whole of the late war, the rendezvous for all the Bombay, Madras, and Bengal ships trading to China. It is unquestionably the best harbour in India for vessels of every kind, being at all seasons of the year safe, and easy of access. Since this port was first established in the year 1785, when it was acquired by the government of Bengal by a regular and voluntary cession from the king of Cudda, not a vessel in its bay has been known to drive or drag her anchors. Here the whole navy of England could be supplied with masts of all sizes. The island is also favourably situated for a naval port to refit after damages from storms or battles; the climate is favourable to the sick, and the price of all kinds of provisions is extremely reasonable. It is now the centre of the principal part of the Malay trade.

Since the settlement formed on this island, the article of opium has risen in Bengal to three times its former value, which is accounted for by the advanced prices which merchants can afford to give at this new mart. The Malay traders who were formerly supplied with this article from Bencoolen, Batavia, and a few ships fitted out from Bengal, come now to this place in their own vessels, which they navigate with speed and safety.

The pepper plantations on this island, in the year 1799, produced nine thousand picoles; and it now contains twenty thousand nutmeg-trees, belonging to the company and to individuals; by far the greater number to the latter. The plants are as healthy and as strong as any at either Amboyna or Banda. From its position, and other natural advantages, it promises in time to be one of the chief emporiums of India.

It now remains to give a short description of the principal settlements belonging to the company, and of the nature of the trade carried on in each.

Mocha is the first in order of the English East-India settlements. This city is situated at the entrance of the Red-sea, and was formerly only an inconsiderable fishing-town, but within these two last centuries it has become the emporium for the commerce from all parts of India to the Red-sea. The trade was removed hither from Adan, in consequence of a prophecy delivered by a sheik, who was much revered by the people; and who is said to have foretold that the former place would soon become the seat of extensive commerce. It stands on a sandy plain

destitute even of water fit for culinary purposes; that which the natives drink being brought from a distance of twenty miles, and sold as dear as small-beer is in England. This place is well fortified; the buildings are lofty, and tolerably regular; the turrets of several mosques raise their heads into the clouds, and present themselves to view at a great distance. The English are much favoured at this place, because they bring hither large capitals, and besides coffee, carry away myrrh, aloes, arsenic, gum-arabic, balm of gilead, and other drugs.

Two or three years sometimes elapse without rain, and seldom more than a few showers fall in a year. The religion of the country is Mohammedanism, to which they are greatly attached; though they are not observant of the first of all the moral duties, truth. Their promises, which they seldom keep, are made with the most solemn invocations to God; and the judge pronounces a grave and devout lecture against corruption, while at the same time his hand is extended to receive a bribe.

The English and Dutch companies have handsome houses here, but without the grandeur and state that they maintain in some other of their settlements.

Gombroon, or, as the natives call it, Bander Abassi, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, is the next settlement, and owes its importance to the demolition of Ormus, and the downfal of the Portuguese empire in the East-Indies. It resembles Mocha in its want of water, and its excessive heat, but is much superior in regard to the salubrity of the air. This city is large, and encompassed toward the land by a wall, which

in several places has been suffered to fall into ruins. The houses in most of the streets are out of repair, so that a stranger would imagine the town had been sacked and ravaged by an enemy; and not a vestige of wealth contained in the place is ever brought into public sight. The thirst of gain detains here a great many Persians and Banians, who carry on a principal part of the trade, and a small English factory, the merchants of which derive their chief profit from the freight of merchandise; as the natives, being indifferent navigators, are glad to employ the English vessels.

Many of the houses have contrivances at the top for procuring a draught of air through the whole building, in the manner of a ventilator. They consist of a wooden machine of a conical form; the natives call them wind-chimneys, and they add not only to the elegance of the houses, but to the health of the occupiers in the intensely hot seasons of the year.

The city of Gombroon is extremely populous, in consequence of the prodigious commerce carried on here by the Dutch and English factories, as well as by the natives. The French had formerly a trade to this place, but were obliged to withdraw their servants upon a revolution that happened in the company's affairs. The English factory is situated close to the sea, at some distance from the Dutch, which latter is a commodious and fine new building. Although our countrymen pay no duties of custom, yet the shabander keeps an officer at the factory to examine every thing brought on shore and delivered to the merchants, who commonly make him a present, for the sake of avoiding the

trouble which he has it in his power to give them. Private traders with the company's passes enjoy the same privileges on paying a contribution of two per cent. to the company, which is equally divided between the agent and the brokers.

When a ship arrives, the shabander sends his boat on board to know whence she came, of what her cargo consists, and to whom she belongs. All private trade, either by European or country ships, has so long been engrossed by the company's servants, that they now look upon it as their right: a third part of the profits arising from all investments belongs to the agent at Ispahan, a third part to the chief of Gombroon, and the other third to the factors in Persia. Hence it is that scarcely an Englishman in the place will give a true account of the value of his goods against his own interest. That every thing however may seem to be done for the benefit of the stranger, the broker acquaints the Armenian and Banian merchants of what is to be disposed of, and fixes a time for a number of them to meet at the factory. Till within a few years the northern provinces of Persia, and most of the Grand Signior's dominions, were supplied with English cloths by the Turkey company. But the East-India company fixing their attention upon this branch of trade, sent large quantities of woollen manufactures round the Cape of Good Hope to Gombroon, and thence by caravans to their respective factories.

One great part of the company's profit here arises from passengers, with the freightage of their effects. A ship is rarely dispatched from Gombroon without being filled with passengers,

and deeply laden with goods, pearls, and other treasures, sometimes to the value of three hundred thousand pounds. Upon all these the charge of freightage is prodigious, and is often rated by the value of the cargo. Although the price of a passage from Gombroon to Surat is fixed by the company, yet the captain of the ship makes a valuable perquisite of it, raising the rate according to the wealth and disposition of the passenger.

The next sea-port where the company have a factory is Surat, which is the chief trading town in the Mogul's dominions, and is inhabited by people of all nations, who are equally under the protection of the government. Soon after the English first settled in this part, they removed about two miles farther down the river on finding a more advantageous situation. The city is inclosed with a wall of four miles in circumference, the suburbs serving for the habitations of mechanics.

The English, as usual, after being admitted and tolerated, have become the sovereigns of Surat, though a governor still resides there who holds his authority from the Moguls. This place is extremely populous, and the most unlimited freedom in matters of religion is allowed; but most of the inhabitants are Mohammedans, of the sect of Ali. Those who profess this religion are called Moors. There are others styled the *Musey*, who believe in the Old Testament, together with the Koran, and entertain equal respect for the law of Moses and that of Mohammed. Another sect, who are called Molacks, are reproached with the greatest irregularities and the most licentious conduct. The

women of all descriptions are accustomed to provide themselves with a handkerchief, which they give to the man whom they meet in their nocturnal assemblies, into which not a ray of light is suffered to enter, that they may know him again in the day-time. The Great Mogul, Aureng-Zib, proscribed this religious rite under pain of capital punishment, but it has never been wholly discontinued, and is to this day practised among the Molacks.

Of the religions in Surat, that of the Banians is the most numerous, who are almost all merchants, bankers, brokers, accomptants, collectors, or surveyors, few or none of them being bred to mechanical employments, with the exceptions of the necessary occupations of taylors and barbers. There are also found in Surat some Hindoos, followers of Fo, and Parses, the worshippers of fire. These are a remnant of the ancient Persians, who preferred banishment to changing their religion. About the seventh century, when the Mohammedan religion overran almost the whole of Persia, five hundred families of this country were, in the persecution of the victorious fanatics, sent to sea in ships and boats without compass or pilot. This unfortunate party in twenty days fell in with the coast of India, and it being night, they were directed to the shore by a fire near the sea-side, by steering towards which they accidentally put into the river of Nunfaree, seven leagues south of Surat. When they landed, the hospitable Indians flocked around them, and it happening that some of the Persians could speak the Indian language, these related their melancholy tale, the circumstances of which had driven them through ne-

cessity upon the Indian coasts. Their story excited the compassion of the natives, who invited them to settle among them, gave them lands to cultivate, and seed to sow their grounds with. Their posterity soon multiplied, and have since greatly increased, but without the smallest alteration in their religion.

Surat is a general magazine for the most valuable productions of the coasts of Africa, Malabar, Persia, and Hindostan. Their artificers are exceedingly ingenious. The English live in great splendour here; which indeed is said to be almost necessary for an European governor in the East, in order to maintain his credit and reputation with the natives.

Bombay formerly belonged to the Portuguese, who gave it the name of Boon-Bay, from the excellence of the harbour, which it is affirmed will contain a thousand ships at anchor. The principal town in this island is about a mile long, but the houses are mean, low, and paltry. The soil is barren and incapable of improvement; nor is any good water to be found in the whole island: the best is that which is furnished by the rain, and kept in cisterns for use. Those inhabitants who have servants can be tolerably supplied from a spring some miles distant from the town. The estates on the island chiefly consist of fine groves of cocoa-nut trees. Their gardens produce mangoes and other Indian fruits. They make salt in large quantities, by letting the sea into shallow pits, where it evaporates by the heat of the sun, while the saline part is left behind. The air and climate are rather unhealthy, but the natives live in general to

a great age. After rain, a multitude of venomous creatures appear, which grow to an extraordinary size. The spiders are said to be as large as walnuts, and their toads almost equal in magnitude to our ducks.

Corwar, another English settlement, is one of the most healthy which the company possess on the Malabar coast. The country round is fertile and beautiful: the mountainous parts are woody; but the vallies abound in corn and pepper, and the woods with game of various kinds. The company have here a governor and council to manage the affairs of trade, the most valuable article of which is fine pepper. This officer is highly respected by the natives. When he hunts, all the people of rank in the neighbourhood attend him. They bring into the field their vassals and servants, armed with lances, fire-arms, and other weapons, and preceded by a number of warlike instruments, as drums, hautboys and trumpets.

When the Mogul's general had conquered this province, and taken possession of it for Aureng-Zib, he burnt the English house one day while the merchants of the factory were at dinner with him. Before Aureng-Zib conquered Visapore, the country produced the finest muslins in India. At Corwar the company had a great trade, employing fifty thousand persons in that branch of manufacture. But when the licentious army of the Moguls entered the province, every species of industry was ruined. They plundered the inhabitants, cut the company's cloth from the looms, and used the weavers so rudely that they forsook the country.

Since that period trade has never recovered itself, nor risen to that flourishing height at which it then was.

Fort St. David was sold by a Mahratta prince, in the year 1686, to Mr. Elisha Yale, for the use and benefit of the East-India company. Its territory extends about eight miles along the sea-coast, and four miles up the country, which is pleasant, healthful, and fertile, and watered with a variety of rivers that add greatly to the strength and beauty of the fort, and the fertility of the adjacent soil. The fortifications are regular, mounted with cannon; and this post is always well provided and garrisoned, both on account of its vicinity to Pondicherry, and because numbers of disaffected natives are in possession of the mountains, who frequently make dangerous incursions into the open country. In these sallies they plunder, ravage, and destroy, every thing in their way; nor can they be repelled, or at least suppressed, by the Mogul's forces. When the English purchased Fort St. David, the Dutch had a small factory there, which they still retain, enjoying that security and peace under the English which their countrymen denied to them at Amboyna.

Madras, or Fort St. George, is a settlement of the utmost consequence to the English company, on account of its strength, wealth, and great yearly returns in calicoes and muslins. It is situated in a sandy plain, so close to the sea that its walls have been sometimes endangered by the violence of the surges; and its other extremity is defended by a salt-water river, which adds to its security, but renders it inconvenient by obstructing the fresh-water springs, on which

account the inhabitants are obliged to send above a mile for all the water that they drink. In the rainy season the sea threatens destruction on the one side, while the river is no less terrifying on the other, from the apprehension of an inundation. About the city the soil is so poor that it does not spontaneously produce a single blade of grass, nor a weed; nor corn with the best culture: all the vegetables consumed in the place are brought from a considerable distance. Nothing can be more wretched than the appearance of this spot, nor more disagreeable or less commodious than the situation; yet under all these disadvantages, it is the company's principal settlement, and next to Batavia, the richest European fort in India.

The Black Town, called Madras, is inhabited by Gentoos, Mohammedans, Indians, Christians, and Jews. It was walled in, on the land side, by Governor Pitt. The streets are wide, with trees planted in them which afford a commodious shelter from the piercing rays of the sun. Some of the houses are of brick; the rest are miserable cottages, without a window to be seen on the outside, or furniture within, except the mats and carpets on which they lie. They are built with clay and thatched; which are also materials of the habitations of the Indians of better condition, who generally preserve the same form, with a square hole at the top to admit the light. Before the doors are little sheds or porches, beyond which they seldom invite strangers; and in these they sit morning and evening to receive their friends and transact business.

The town is, in general, very populous; one

of these cottages sometimes contains ten in a family: yet with all this mean appearance few places abound more in wealth, and specie is no where so rapidly circulated. The market-place is every day crowded, and exchanges of property of immense value are made, which they transfer with the same facility with which it is done on the Exchange of London. In the town stands an Armenian church, besides several little pagodas, or Indian temples, to which belong a number of priests and female choristers. These girls are early devoted to religion, in which they spend a part of their time, while the remainder is given up to their gallants, of any nation, complexion, or religion. They constitute part of the equipage of a great man upon all public occasions, and when he intends to make a figure. Formerly the governor of Fort St. George used to be accompanied by fifty of them, as well as by the country music, when he went abroad; but the attendance of the ladies has of late years been dispensed with.

Besides the town of Madras, the company have property in several neighbouring villages, from which they draw a considerable revenue; the whole having been purchased by them of the king of Golconda, before the Mogul became sovereign of the country. They have also a house and garden at St. Thomas's Mount. Beyond the Black Town are gardens that extend half a mile, planted with the most delicious fruits, which may be purchased at a very small price.

The White Town is appropriated for the residence of the English alone. Both the Black and White Towns, which by their proximity

form only one, are extremely populous, the inhabitants being estimated at eighty thousand. Every pleasure and luxury that opulence can procure is found in this settlement. It is the seat of power of the East-India company, and the residence of the governor and council. The governor has the attendance, the authority, and the honours of a sovereign: and when he goes out, he has the respect of that rank paid to him. The guards are drawn out, and the drums beat as he passes, and fifty or sixty blacks run before him. His palanquin is escorted by a body of soldiers; a numerous train of servants follow; and notice of his approach is given by the country music and the harsh dissonance of their trumpets. His salary is but 300l. per annum, but the perquisites and emoluments of trade make his office extremely lucrative.

The council is composed of the six senior European merchants, who have salaries from 140l. per annum, according to their seniority. Every member has a respect shown him proportioned to his seat in the council, and all of them are greatly superior in rank to any of the inhabitants.

The commerce of Madras is carried on to all parts eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. That to China was formerly much cultivated on account of the returns in gold and fine goods; but this is now reduced to nothing, by ships being sent directly to China from England. The voyage to Manilla, under Armenian colours, is a profitable undertaking. Batavia, the coasts of Java, Malacca, Bengal, Pegu, Arracan, Achen, Bencoolen, &c. &c. are likewise visited annually. The largest ships go to Mocha, Surat,

and other ports of Persia and India, with Bengal and China goods, and touch at several ports on the Malabar coast for pepper and other articles peculiar to those places. But the distinguishing advantage of Madras, and what first brought a confluence of inhabitants thither, was its vicinity to the diamond-mines of Golconda, which lie at the distance of only a week's journey from town. When a person goes to these mines with a design to trade, he acquaints the Mogul's officers with his intentions, after he has made choice of a piece of ground to dig upon. Having paid the money for this spot, it is immediately inclosed and sentinels placed round it. All stones of more than sixty grains in weight belong to the emperor; and frauds in this particular are punished with death. Some few acquire fortunes, like adventurers who hazard a large stake in the lottery or games of chance, while multitudes lose their money, their time, and expectations.

Near Visagapatam, where there is an English factory, are many ancient pagods or temples. One, upon a small mountain, is very remarkable, in which the natives worship monkeys, that live and breed in great numbers within the temple. These animals are maintained by priests whose devotions consist in boiling rice for this tribe of deities. At meals the little gods assemble at the pagodas, eat what their votaries have prepared for them, and then retire in good order into the groves and fields. The murder of a man is esteemed infinitely less atrocious than to destroy one of these living idols.

In the year 1709 this factory was engaged in a war with the nabob of Chizkacul, which was

protracted to a considerable length without much bloodshed; and at length the contending parties compromised the matter. Some time after this peace was concluded, the nabob returned to his own dominions; and being incensed at the usage which he had received, and aware that he was unable to revenge himself by force, he had recourse to the following stratagem. Without giving any previous notice, he came attended with a hundred men on horseback to the factory. The alarm being given, Mr. Horden, a resolute young man in the service of the company, ran down stairs with a fusee and bayonet, and meeting the nabob he presented the gun to his breast, telling him in the Gentoo language, that *he* was welcome, but if any one of his attendants dared to advance a single step, his own life should answer for it. Disconcerted and astonished at the young gentleman's spirit and bravery, the nabob sat down to consider what he should do; Mr. Horden still keeping the muzzle of his piece to the breast of the Indian chief, while one of the nabob's attendants held a dagger's point close to the Englishman's back, in which situation the conference was held for half an hour, and at last broke up with the nabob's resolution to depart peaceably.

The establishments of the company in Bengal, which were at first only factories, have now become sovereignties. Calcutta, or Fort William, is the largest of all their settlements except Fort St. George. The town and fort have both an irregular appearance; in the former every man has built his house to his own taste, and it is scarcely possible to find two that bear any resemblance to each other in size, situation, or construction.

About fifty yards from the fort stands the church, erected by the merchants residing here. The governor's house in the fort is esteemed the neatest and most complete piece of architecture in India.

There is scarcely any sort of manufacture in Calcutta: the government, which is arbitrary, imprudently discourages industry and ingenuity in the populace, founding their security chiefly on the poverty of the natives, who are completely in subjection to the company's servants, and at the displeasure of the meanest British subjects are liable to fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment.

All religions are tolerated at Calcutta. The natives pay a tribute to the company; and the revenues arising from this source, which are very considerable, enable them to defray a great part of their mercantile expences.

The English live splendidly in Fort William. The forenoons are dedicated to business, the afternoons to rest, and the evenings to recreation and amusement. They make excursions into the fields or gardens in chaises or palanquins; or by water in boats that are rowed with great velocity, and in which they fish or shoot wild fowl. At night, they visit each other in a friendly way, except where this social enjoyment is destroyed by pride and ostentation. The ladies, in particular, are said to be in a state of perpetual hostility, arising from their emulation in dress, rank, and the splendour of their tables. In short, neither men nor women are unanimous in any thing except in oppressing the natives, and enlarging their own fortunes by any means, and

yet maintaining the appearance of expence and grandeur.

The city of Achen, situated at the north-west end of Sumatra, is surrounded with woods and marshes, about the distance of half a league from the sea. The houses, about eight hundred in number, are built on wooden pillars to secure them from inundations and the dapm.

The pepper-plant is a production of the island of Sumatra, and a great part of the company's trade arises from this commodity, which the natives cultivate with great care and attention. Gold is also found here; but the Dutch, being masters of the island of Java, have had the address to fix themselves likewise on Sumatra, where they are said to be in possession of a gold-mine. Commerce, however, is itself the richest mine; a maxim sufficiently proved by the different empires of Japan, China, and Spain. The two former have neglected to dig for gold, which they can draw more securely from trade: while the latter has impoliticly neglected trade, to dig in the mines of Potosi; though of all the kingdoms of Europe, Spain retains the smallest share of that immense wealth which it annually brings from Mexico and Peru. Industry and parsimony are the surest sources of opulence; and they alone have raised to the highest pitch of prosperity every nation by whom they have been cultivated. The company know, that the mines of Sumatra could not be worked but at an enormous expence, and the hazard of incurring the aversion of the natives: the Dutch have proved the justness of this reasoning. Thus the only certain method of acquiring the benefit

of the gold-trade is that which they have taken; by settling colonies on the island, treating the inhabitants with mildness and affability, observing the rules of justice in their dealings with them, and by these means gradually conciliating their esteem to the European manners. This seems the true method of inducing them to the consumption of European commodities, and will obviate the inconvenience and danger of securing the obedience of so many barbarous nations with a handful of men; ensuring at the same time a correspondence, which must draw vast quantities of gold into Europe, and afford employment and subsistence to infinite numbers of poor at home, who constitute the real and substantial wealth of a state; while navigation and naval power, the arts, the sciences, and the true knowledge of life, will be promoted.

Proceeding through the straits of Sunda to the west of Sumatra, and thence northward, we meet with an English settlement at Sillabar. Ten miles farther to the north is Bencoolen, which is known at sea by a slender mountain, called the sugar-loaf, that rises twenty miles beyond it in the country. This place is almost two miles in compass, and is inhabited chiefly by natives, who build their houses on pillars of bamboo. The Chinese, Portuguese, and English, have each a separate quarter of the town. The Chinese build all on one floor, after the fashion of the country; the English and Portuguese construct their houses according to the European manner, but they found themselves under the necessity of using timber, instead of bricks and stone, on account of the frequent earthquakes with which the country is visited. As the town

stands on a morass, the noxious vapour exhaled by the heat of the sun made the air extremely injurious to the European constitution; and had not a more healthy situation been fixed on in Fort Marlborough, it must, probably, have been entirely abandoned.

The last place of importance which we shall here describe as belonging to the company, is the island of St. Helena, so called by the Portuguese, who discovered it on St. Helena's day in the year 1502. It lies about six hundred leagues north-west of the Cape of Good Hope, almost half-way between the continents of Africa and America, and is of the utmost consequence to the victualling and refreshing of our ships, which almost always touch here on their passage home from India.

When the Portuguese first discovered St. Helena, they stocked it with hogs, goats, and poultry, and used to touch at it for provisions and water, in their return from India voyages, then deemed infinitely more hazardous and long than experience and improvement have now rendered them: but it is uncertain whether they ever established a colony there, though it is highly probable they did, for the convenience of preparing necessaries against the arrival of their shipping. And this opinion is strengthened by the observation of the celebrated commodore Roggewin, who affirms that the Portuguese having one of their India ships cast away here, built a chapel of the wreck, which though now entirely decayed has given its name to the finest valley on the island, which is one of the most beautiful in the world. It was, however, totally abandoned when the Dutch took possession of it;

and not a single Portuguese was found upon it in the year 1600, when it fell into the hands of the English.

In the year 1673 it was again taken by the Dutch, who, however, did not long enjoy their conquest, for it was recaptured a short time afterwards by captain Munden, when three Dutch East-Indiamen were found in the harbour.

In the opinion of those who have visited this island, it is a most delightful abode; it is about twenty miles in circumference, and contains cultivated land, meadows, and woods, together with a spring which forms a rivulet; and in a word, nature appears here with the freshness and beauty of youth. The inhabitants have a peculiar complexion, which is fair and remarkably ruddy. They enjoy good health, and in general attain to a great age, owing to the effects of a climate the heat of which is moderated by the east winds, and to their temperance and sobriety; for they are said never to indulge in any irregularity except for a few days during the stay of the East-India ships. It appears that on these occasions they transgress their usual boundaries, in order to entertain their guests.

This island is not rendered unwholesome by fens or rivers which overflow their banks; the atmosphere is ever temperate by the almost perpetual refreshing showers. The inhabitants are obliged to take much exercise from the nature of the country; for in going from the town in Chapel-valley to their plantations, the road is so steep, that they are forced to climb a great part of the way, and in one place to use a ladder, which is therefore called Ladder-hill; nor can this inconvenience be avoided without going two

or three miles round. The natives have been described by writers in general, as the happiest, most inoffensive, and hospitable people in the world.

Near Chapel-valley is a fort, where the governor and garrison reside. The governor has always sentinels on the highest part of the island, who give notice of the approach of all shipping; on which occasions guns are fired as a signal for every man to repair to his post. Thus it is impossible for a ship to come even in the night, without finding preparations which have been made the day before, when she cannot fail of having been discovered. This precaution, which is well known to all nations, renders the natives secure against sudden attacks; and gives this satisfaction to our mariners, that as soon as they appear in the offing, they are sure to find every thing ready for their reception as friends.

It may be proper to conclude this acoount relative to the English East-India company with some remarks which will be found useful as a kind of introduction to the commercial histories of other European nations, as they follow in this volume.

It has been observed, in the preceding view of ancient India, that no country was more famous and celebrated among the ancients, and none less known, than these parts. Nothing could be more perplexed and chimerical than the notions respecting this quarter of the globe, although they were founded on the nature of a country, whose wealth and profusion of the luxuries of life had rendered it remarkable above all others. Common report had magnified every thing into the marvellous; and the ancients were sensible

that nature afforded not a more abundant source of wealth than the Indian commerce; having bestowed on that happy climate not only every thing that was necessary, but every luxury of life, in the most profuse manner: and this persuasion drew thither the first sons of fame. Bacchus, in the fabulous period, is supposed to have first penetrated into India; Hercules exercised his valour on this theatre; Sesostris visited these countries, as far as the coast of Japan; and Arabia acquired the name of Felix, or Happy, from the effects of her Indian commerce. The Egyptians and Phœnicians established the earliest maritime trade to these parts; and Solomon esteemed the traffic to India as his most valuable possession. When commerce forsook Phœnicia, Alexandria became the mart of Indian merchandise; and the founder of that noble city proposed making it the emporium of commerce, a project worthy of the conqueror of the world.

After he had subdued Persia, this monarch projected three things of the utmost consequence to his empire and his glory: the first was the perfect exploring of the Caspian sea, the greatest part of its shore being hitherto unknown; the second was the establishing a powerful maritime force in the Indian ocean; and the third was the conquest of Arabia. To these designs, the best geographers, the most accurate historians, and the ablest philosophers of antiquity acknowledge themselves indebted for their most valuable information respecting this part of the world. But of all his expeditions, the voyage of Nearchus, his admiral, from the mouth of the river Indus, above the coast of Persia, through the gulf, and to the mouth of the Euphrates, was

the most remarkable and useful to the purposes of commerce and navigation.

The wealth which this trade drew into Egypt, was at once the cause of its prosperity and its ruin; the Romans being invited by the former to share in a trade which brought in its train such immense treasures, and would be attended with so great an augmentation of their maritime force. They, however, after numberless victories, and establishing the most universal empire that mankind had ever seen, were, for a time, deterred from entering on the Indian commerce, by the frightful tales related by the Arabian merchants: but at length, the love of gold triumphed over every fear, and Augustus made some attempts to open a communication with India.

After Constantine had transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium, Alexandria continued to be the principal mart of foreign trade, while Seleucia of Syria was the route of the more inland; and the barbarians dwelling on the bleak borders of the Caspian sea, felt the charms of the wealth that poured into the Greek empire through this channel. At length, commerce shared the general fate of learning, art, and government, in the provinces through which it flowed. The military genius of the Arabs, the successors of Mohammed, totally extinguished the spirit of commerce and science. Fury, frantic zeal, ignorance, and barbarity, seemed to be let loose to waste the world, to debase the human genius, and involve mankind in a cloud of impenetrable darkness. But no sooner had the grandson of the monarch who tore Africa from the descendants of Mohammed, founded Grand Cairo, and furnished protection to the mer-

chants, than the rich flow of eastern wealth once more returned into its ancient channel. The new-built city became the chief mart of the western world; rich, populous, and the seat of a new empire. The Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, and some other free states of Italy, rose on the ruin of the Grecian empire, and profiting by the general confusion, seized part of its dismembered dominions; succeeding at the same time to the trade of the Indies by the channel of Egypt, the commodities of which being distributed all over the North, were to them a mine of infinite wealth and power, that soon raised the Venetians in particular to the rank of the most respectable state of Italy, and the chief maritime power of Europe.

CHAPTER VIII.

The History of the Establishment of the Dutch Commerce in the East-Indies.

THE commerce which the subjects of the United Provinces have long carried on in the East-Indies, has been so highly beneficial to them in every respect; has brought such immense treasures into their country; has supplied such vast sums to their government; and has contributed so much to that mighty naval power, the foundation as well of her domestic freedom as of the figure which this republic has made in Europe; that it will be found an useful subject, briefly to explain the rise, to trace the progress, and to set in a perspicuous light the situation of that important trade of which they are still in possession.

When the sovereignty of Portugal was transferred to the crown of Spain, under Philip II. the Flemish subjects of that prince were favoured on account of the sale which they procured in the North for the merchandise of India: and it was this circumstance which brought such prodigious wealth to the people of Bruges and Ghent; making Antwerp the greatest trading city in Europe; enabling its citizens to live in palaces; and filling its ports with such an immense number of ships, that four hundred have been seen at anchor there together. These riches made the inhabitants difficult to be governed; and the Spanish council imagined that, to render them pliable, it would be necessary to

make them poor. Besides subjecting them to restraint in matters of religion, it therefore fettered their commerce. The richest merchants, and the most industrious manufacturers, thus oppressed in their property, and deprived of liberty of conscience, retired to the Seven United Provinces which had shaken off the Spanish yoke; where they were received with open arms. As they had been accustomed, by their former connection with Portugal, to deal in Indian merchandise, they were desirous of continuing the same traffic; but the wretched policy of Spain having shut the ports of that country against them, they resolved to go directly to the source of those riches, the channels through which they had received them being now entirely closed.

As all these merchants were acquainted with each other, their associations for the pursuit of this trade were soon formed. They were established under the names of Chambers of Commerce, the most important of which was that of Amsterdam. They all set out on the same principle; that as they intended to appropriate to themselves the profits of their former masters, they ought not to depend merely on mercantile talents, but that it would be necessary to arm themselves, as they might possibly meet with resistance. Their first ships, therefore, were equipped as if for a military expedition. These were followed by other vessels which went together in fleets, some by the Cape of Good Hope, and others by the straits of Magellan; so that the Spanish and Portuguese settlements were attacked at the same time on all sides. In the A. D. 1594.

course of six or seven years the Dutch found themselves in great favour in India with the kings of the country; and by means of forts which they constructed at almost every place where they obtained a footing, they became as firmly established as their ancient masters.

The first ships returned to Holland after an absence of two years and four months; and though the adventurers had made no great profits by the voyage, yet the success animated their owners, and several other merchants, to carry on the design with increased vigour. But the zeal and ardour which induced them to build and send out in rapid succession so many vessels, and which were likely to be of such importance to the interests of commerce, were rendered useless by the circumstance of the individuals and the chambers not being intimately connected; so that they could not agree either in respect to the quality or the quantity of goods which they exported, nor on the price that in India they should set upon the spices and other articles which they purchased. It often happened that several vessels carried out the same merchandise; and on such occasions it was necessary to lower the price in India, in order to obtain a ready sale. On the other hand, the ships, anxious to take in their cargoes that they might avoid the competition of those which followed them, preferred paying an advanced price to get home the sooner; and thus the trade, without being disadvantageous, yet did not procure those benefits which might have been expected. To remedy this inconvenience all the chambers were formed into one

company, with the exclusive right of trading to the Indies.

As this was an affair of importance, as well to the nation in general as to the persons interested in the several private companies, it took some time to arrange the different points, and bring them under a just regulation; which, however, was at length adjusted to the general satisfaction of all parties concerned, and a charter granted for twenty-one years, by which the rest of the subjects of the United Provinces were forbidden to send ships to the East-Indies, either by the Cape of Good Hope or the straits of Magellan. A. D. 1602.

The company began its adventures with following the method employed by the first merchants, of sending out speedily fleet after fleet to astonish the Spaniards and Portuguese, their rivals, by the sudden appearance of forces without end. It is supposed that the Dutch East-India company, at the very moment of its formation, had concerted a plan for expelling all the Europeans from the spice-islands, and appropriating their trade exclusively to itself. In this, indeed, it succeeded; without observing, as we have seen by what happened at Amboyna, much delicacy in the means.

Before the expiration of the first charter, the company found itself in possession of an empire, the extent of which it had not been able to foresee. It fixed its throne, if the expression may be allowed, in the island of Java; where general Koen built Batavia, which has since become the most superb city in the Indies.

The Dutch, notwithstanding their plainness and simplicity in Europe, endeavoured to give this

new capital an air of magnificence and grandeur, that should render it the successful rival of Goa, which they wished to outshine, in order that they might secure the respect of the Indians, who were readily caught by appearances. The streets were made exactly straight, and very spacious, with commodious and handsome canals of running water, planted with trees, the shade of which was a protection to the passengers in the boats; an advantage of conveyance derived from two fine rivers, one running through the city, and the other encompassing its walls. A strong square citadel was erected on the east, to cover the bridge that led to the city. The place itself also was quickly put into a state of security, and, by degrees, surrounded with a thick wall, defended by eighteen bastions at proper distances. The court of the commandant-general resembles that of a sovereign prince. Few kings, indeed, have so extensive an authority. Orders are dispatched from Batavia to every part of the Indies, where there are subaltern governors who command provinces, and as far as to Japan, where the Dutch have had the address to preserve the liberty of trade which is interdicted to all the rest of the world.

The thirst of gain, which is the foundation of all, particularly of maritime, commerce, effaces sometimes not only the principles of religion, but those also of humanity and the rights of nations. The massacre at Amboyna, which excluded for ever from the spice trade the English, the only rivals whom the Dutch had to dread, has been already mentioned. The same system of sacrificing every thing to interest, rendered

them implacable enemies to their competitors, cruel to their prisoners, unfaithful to their allies, and pitiless toward shipwrecked mariners, who in their settlements might have acquired information which they considered as dangerous. The taking possession of the island of Ceylon, in which cinnamon is produced, the only territory necessary to the Dutch to make them masters of the finest spices, was accompanied with some of those arts of political cunning which commerce, when on a grand scale, thinks sometimes not incompatible with honesty.

This island, situated at the extremity of the peninsula of India, is inhabited by a people called Chingulays, whose origin is unknown. They are tall, black, and well made, possess great bravery, and are fond of agriculture. The women are not destitute of charms. The most common religion is the Mohammedan, and their king, who, in imitation of the sovereigns of India, assumes the title of rajah, professes to be a follower of the Arabian prophet. His capital, named Candy, is situated in the middle of the island, towards which the land forms a gradual ascent. The Portuguese had possession of the coasts; but this gave no uneasiness to the monarch, as it was of little importance to him with whom his subjects carried on trade, or to whom they sold their cinnamon. He had lived on friendly terms with that nation, till an imperious governor occasioned some disagreement. He then carried his complaints to Goa; but no attention being paid to them, he took up arms to reduce the insolence of the Portuguese. Having, however, learned that their countrymen were preparing to assist them, he called in

the Dutch; engaging to pay them the expence of the war, to cede to them a piece of ground for building a factory, and to give them an exclusive right to trade with his subjects. The Dutch on these terms entered into an obligation to furnish him with a certain number of troops, and to resign to the king all the Portuguese forts, as soon as they were taken, in order that they might be demolished.

The war was successful on the part of the allies, who expelled the Portuguese; but when the Dutch were desired to restore to the king of Candy the last important place they had taken, named Columbo, they declared their determination to keep it as a security for the sums which he owed them in consequence of the treaty. The Dutch have since extended their territories in the island, and have taken possession of the whole coast, assuming to themselves the title of protectors to the inhabitants; but the protection which they afford to these people is neither disinterested nor gratuitous. The whole trade passes through their hands. That branch of it of which the objects are precious stones, rubies, white and blue sapphires, topazes, and other kinds, is considerable. The elephants of this island are the best in all Asia, and the Chingulays have a wonderful dexterity in taming them. The Dutch, notwithstanding, pay great respect to the king; and every year the company sends an ambassador to him with presents. The monarch in return gives a casket of jewels of such immense value that the vessel on board which it is put is said to be worth at least one-half of the homeward-bound fleet. So much precaution is employed to conceal it from the crew, that the

captain of the vessel does not know whether it be on board. It is packed up privately by the governor, among other merchandise.

The exclusive trade in spices, and that with Japan, were not sufficient to gratify the ambition of the company. They made attempts also at China, but their proposals were rejected, which gave great offence to the Hollanders. The massacre of several thousands of Chinese at Batavia, under pretence of their being concerned in a conspiracy, is ascribed to revenge for this disappointment. It does not, however, appear certain that the sufferers were entirely innocent.

But though disappointed in their hopes from a negociation in China, they had better success in Japan; to which country they sent Zachary Waghenaer under the title of ambassador to the emperor, with orders to use his utmost endeavours to gain a perfect knowledge of the policy of that empire, and to make himself as agreeable as possible to the emperor and his ministers. This commission Waghenaer was very capable of performing to the satisfaction of his employers; but he had not been long at Jeddo before a sudden fire reduced that city to ashes, which accident occasioned such confusion at the court of Japan, as induced the Dutch ambassador to return home. He had scarcely arrived at Batavia before intelligence came that great disputes had arisen between the Japanese at Nangasaqui, and the Dutch settled in the factory there; a circumstance that alarmed the general and council so much, that they obliged Mr. Waghenaer, against his will, to make a second voyage to Japan, where he did not arrive till the beginning of March, 1659. He ingratiated himself

with the emperor and his chief minister; and by agreeing to the two following conditions; on the part of the Dutch, obtained all that he could reasonably ask in their favour. The first was, that they should give early information of any designs that might be formed in the Philippines to the prejudice of the empire: the second, that they should forbear taking Chinese ships upon the coast of Japan; because, as the emperor allowed the Chinese to trade to his dominions, it was but reasonable that he should protect them.

While these negociations were carrying on in the most distant parts of the East, there arose a new war in Java, which threatened to ruin the Dutch affairs. The island of Java had been anciently under the power of a single monarch, sometimes styled by the Dutch simply the emperor, and at other times king of Japan; from this prince the governor of Bantam revolted, assumed the title of king, and was supported, in the quality of an independent prince, by the Dutch. It was by a dexterous management of these divisions that they maintained their own power: for whenever the emperor of Java attempted any thing to the prejudice of Batavia, the king of Bantam immediately took up arms; as, on the other hand, whenever the king of Bantam took the field against them, they never failed to have recourse to the emperor of Java. But in the year 1659, the emperor being embarrassed in the internal affairs of his own state, the king of Bantam seized this favourable opportunity to raise a large army, and attack the Dutch: supposing, that as they were deprived of the emperor's assistance, he should soon be able to make himself

master of Batavia, to which he accordingly laid siege. He found himself, however, mistaken: for the company had now become so powerful, that they were able to defend themselves by their own strength; which they did so effectually, that, after the loss of a great part of his forces, the king of Bantam was obliged to raise the siege, and even to retire precipitately into his own dominions. The emperor of Java had still less success; for though he inherited, from his father, an invincible hatred to the company, yet they made him feel the effects of their power, and suffer severely for his obstinacy, though they were never able to conquer him, nor prevail upon him to have any sort of correspondence with them.

These disturbances did not prevent the governor and council from engaging in a foreign war for the support of one of their allies, the king of Bengal, who was in great danger of being dethroned by his brother. At first, the Dutch only furnished him with provisions and artillery, and offered him, in case he was expelled, a sanctuary at Batavia; but afterward finding that a considerable part of his subjects adhered to him firmly, they sent over troops to his assistance, and not only delivered him from the immediate danger he was in, but restored him to his former dignity. In gratitude for this seasonable assistance, he gave them leave to erect a factory and even a fort at Huquely. By these means they ruined the English trade there, and secured all the commerce of those parts to themselves, at least for some time.

Yet these instances of good fortune could not efface the remembrance of their miscarriage in

China; much less could they forgive the Jesuits, to whom they attributed the defeat of that embassy. To be revenged on the authors of this disgrace, they equipped a fleet of thirty ships, with orders to sail to the island of Macassar, and to attack the city of that name, in the port of which they knew there was a Portuguese fleet richly laden, in which the Jesuits were deeply interested. They accordingly attacked Macassar at once by sea and by land; and though the Indian monarch defended his allies with his whole force, yet the Dutch obtained a complete victory, burnt three Portuguese ships, sunk two, and took one so richly laden that it alone sufficiently reimbursed the expence of the Chinese embassy, as well as of this expedition.

To render their victory the more splendid, they obliged the unfortunate king of Macassar to send a solemn embassy to Batavia, and to submit to such terms as the governor-general thought fit to prescribe; which were sufficiently severe, insisting upon that prince expelling all the Portuguese settled in his dominions, and also promising that he would never admit them, or any other Europeans except the Dutch, to reside in his territories with the liberty of trading. The fortress and port of Jompandam, with the district between three and four leagues round about it, were to remain the property of the Dutch East-India company; the Jesuits were to be expelled; their colleges and churches demolished, and their effects confiscated to the use of the company; and the king was to send an ambassador with suitable presents to the governor-general, to obtain the ratification of these disgraceful terms.

After this long series of prosperity which the company enjoyed, they experienced the severest check that they had ever met with since their establishment in India. They had at this time a very fine settlement on the island of Formosa, one of the fairest and most fruitful countries in the East, abounding with all the necessaries of life, producing various rich commodities, and affording an opportunity of carrying on a vast commerce. They had built, for the protection of their colony, a square, which they had strongly fortified. The town was long and large, extremely well peopled; and the inhabitants, from seven years old and upwards, being charged with a poll-tax, at the rate of half a guilder per head, produced a revenue more than sufficient to defray the expences necessary for the maintenance of this important colony. Such, indeed, it might be well styled; since by its situation at the distance of only twenty-four leagues from the coast of China, and one hundred and fifty from Japan, it afforded the means of carrying on with ease, a trade to both, that was extremely beneficial. The Chinese, in the year 1653, had laid a very formidable plot for the destruction of the Dutch in this island, by an universal conspiracy among the natives; which, however, had not the desired effect, being discovered in time, and entirely defeated. This piece of good fortune made those who were entrusted with the care of the company's affairs at Batavia, in regard to this settlement, much more remiss than they had been with this nation; so that they neglected the fortifications, and suffered their magazines to be exhausted, while, by a steady and undiverted application to

trade, they were labouring to advance their private fortunes.

At the time the Tartars made their last conquest of China, there dwelt in the Dutch town on this island a taylor, called Iquon, who had an enterprising genius, and an unconquerable aversion to the Tartars. This man got together a small force, and by degrees became formidable to the Tartar emperor; who, finding that his foible was ambition, offered to make him king of Canton and Fokien. He sent for him to Fokien, where he promised to invest him with this dignity; but instead of keeping his word, he caused him to be seized, and conducted to Pekin, where he was soon after poisoned. This taylor, who was so near obtaining the rank of a sovereign, left a son, named Coxinga, who, on his father's imprisonment, took upon him the command of the fleet.

He first demanded succours of the Dutch, which they refused; and this provoked him to such a degree, that he resolved to turn his whole force against Formosa. He landed with forty thousand men, cut off all communication between the town and the rest of the island, and put to death those who had joined the Dutch, with all the marks of shame and cruelty that he could invent, and without any regard to age, sex, or quality. He afterwards attacked all the outworks at once, which prevented the Dutch from affording assistance to each of them; so that these places were soon carried, though with a vast effusion of blood, and the governor was forced to retire into Fort-Zealand. The conqueror considering the strength of that place, and how unfit his army was to undertake

the siege of it, made choice of the eldest of the Dutch clergymen, and sent with him his brethren, two or three schoolmasters, and some of the gravest men among his prisoners, to persuade the governor to surrender; declaring he would permit them to retire in safety, and that he would not commit any violence upon the person or property of any individual among them; but that if they refused this proposition he would put them to the sword without mercy. The governor told the captives who brought him this message, that he felt all the sorrow and concern in the world for their condition; but, at the same time, that there was nothing should induce him to betray the trust reposed in him, by giving up the place he commanded into the hands of his enemy. With this answer they mournfully returned to Coxinga; who, as soon as he heard it, caused all his prisoners to be put to death.

Assistance was in vain attempted to be given from the Dutch settlements at Batavia; and a resolution was then taken to send an embassy to the emperor of the Tartars in China, to inform him they were in danger of losing Formosa, on account of refusing to assist a Chinese subject in his rebellion: but not depending altogether upon the success of this embassy, five ships of war were equipped, and sailed forthwith to the relief of the place. The governor Cojet made so obstinate a defence, that the uncle of Coxinga resolved to raise the siege without the consent or knowledge of his nephew, at least as to that part of the army which he commanded. Though he managed this concern with the utmost secrecy, it was suspected by Coxinga, who

caused his venerable relation to be arrested, and thrown into prison. After this, though famine and the plague raged in this camp, he pushed on the siege with so much vigour, that the governor found himself obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the succours which he had expected were in sight. Accordingly, the place being given up to the rebellious Chinese, he marched out with the remains of his garrison, and returned, on board the squadron, to Batavia; where, instead of receiving the thanks of the governor-general and council, he was committed to prison, and kept there a considerable time, for surrendering the place when he knew that relief was so near. This misfortune brought about a correspondence between the Dutch and the Chinese emperor, who consented to afford his assistance to restrain the power of Coxinga, and to prevent him from committing depredations in those seas and disturbing the commerce between China and Japan: points of very high concern to his subjects, and no less so to the Dutch, who saw the appearance of their affairs extremely altered, by the loss of this important settlement; since instead of having the Spanish, Portuguese, and Chinese commerce at their disposal, they were now no longer able to send their own annual ships to Japan without great difficulty and danger.

On the accession of Aureng-Zib to the empire of the Indies, the Dutch had an opportunity of complimenting him; which they did by a splendid embassy, that made the power and influence of the company known to the great monarch of Hindostan. As they carried magnificent presents, had nothing but general favours

to ask, and expressed themselves in terms full of deference and respect, that prince, who had made his way to the throne by measures not the most conformable to justice, was extremely well pleased with the application, granted in the handsomest manner, their demands, and assured the company of his favour and protection.

The king of Siam, who, in the opinion of the company, lay under great obligations to them, having in some respects deceived their expectations, was no longer considered as their friend, and they withdrew their factories out of his dominions. That monarch, justly alarmed at this step, and knowing that it was impossible that he could escape the weight of their resentment, sent immediately his ambassadors to Batavia, where they were treated very respectfully; and, on promising that no cause of offence should be given for the future, their factories were immediately re-established. It was by these political contrivances, intermixed with seasonable acts of severity upon their own people, when either through insolence or rapacity they committed outrages upon the subjects of the more potent of the native princes, that the Dutch raised their reputation to a great height, and prevailed upon many of the Indian princes to send their children to Batavia for education; where they were sometimes entertained at the expence of the company, and all imaginable pains taken to infuse into their minds a high idea of the naval power of these enterprising Europeans, and of their capacity to maintain that superiority which they had acquired and possessed.

Still the Dutch were exceedingly anxious about the loss of Formosa, and paid the greatest attention to the many overtures made by the emperor of the Tartars in China, for restoring them that place. There was the more reason to expect that this monarch would act sincerely, because Coxinga, not satisfied with Formosa and its dependencies, had made himself master of several islands between that country and China, and had actually seized some towns upon the continent. They therefore fitted out seventeen large ships to join the Tartars, and to act with vigour against Coxinga; who gave them so warm a reception, that the Dutch commodore was obliged to abandon his design. He then agreed to attack Coxinga's fleet by sea, while the Tartar general was to engage his forces on the shore. After a battle of several hours, in which the Dutch were victorious, the piratical admiral was forced to retire; but he effected his retreat in good order, and without any appearance of dejection or dismay. The Tartar general, before the battle began, drew up his forces in a regular line, and during all the time it lasted looked on very quietly, without affording the smallest assistance; and on the Dutch commander expostulating with him on this conduct, the other replied, that he had been unable to prevail on his men to fight, but in case the Dutch should renew the battle he thought they would behave better.

The commodore took the hint, and attacked Coxinga a second time, and routed him entirely; but the Tartar general was motionless as before. Victory however declared for the Dutch, and this was now of much greater consequence than

it had been formerly, since it not only cost Coxinga all his new conquests, but his life. The Tartars laid hold of this opportunity to demolish the fortresses they had raised, as fast as they left them; and the Dutch were equally active in carrying off whatever was valuable. The recovery of Formosa was now looked upon as a thing certain, but when they came to make the attempt, they were strangely disappointed; for Souja, who had recovered his liberty, re-assembled the fleet and army of his nephew, and disposed them in such a manner that nothing could be done against them with any prospect of success. The old Chinese general, however, being a man of great experience, was not willing to risk all, if all might be saved without running such a hazard; and therefore was inclined to make peace with the Tartars, and to grant the Dutch a settlement.

The son of Coxinga having discovered this design, defeated it, and being elected commander of the rebel forces, seized the old man, and sent him a second time to prison, where in a fit of melancholy he destroyed himself. This youthful officer inherited all the spirit, and all the abilities, of his father; and managed his affairs with so much courage and prudence, that the Dutch admiral was soon obliged to return to Batavia, without being able to execute the object for which he was sent.

The young victor lived but a short time to wear the laurels he had gained; and at his decease, the island was inherited by his son, then a child. The public concerns were tolerably well conducted by his guardians, till he attained to the age of manhood; when exhibiting a mild

and melancholy disposition, and perceiving that the Tartars had not only reduced but put to death the king of Fokien, his principal ally, he resolved to prevent all danger of suffering himself in like manner, by surrendering his dominions. His enemies were not satisfied with this, but demanded also his person; and he came to Pekin in the character of an abdicated prince, where he had a small pension allowed him, and was in other particulars treated with kindness and respect. Thus the island of Formosa, or at least that part of it which belonged to the Dutch, became re-united to the Chinese empire, and has continued so ever since; that nation keeping always a body of twelve thousand regular troops in it, which are changed once in three years, and sometimes oftener, in order to prevent a recurrence of future revolts.

A. D. 1683.

One of the most important wars in which the Dutch engaged, was that with the king of Macassar. This empire, which comprehends the best part of the island of Celebes, was then inhabited by a brave and numerous people; whose monarchs having never submitted to the Portuguese, had consequently a strong aversion from the yoke of the Dutch, with whom they were never on good terms, on account of the intercourse which these islanders preserved with the Moluccas, and the protection they had given to the Portuguese, who took shelter among them.

The subjects of the king of Macassar had murdered some of the Dutch who had landed in his dominions, and had likewise plundered several ships that had run ashore upon their coasts. Before however any hostilities were committed,

a treaty was set on foot, by which the king promised to give full satisfaction for these injuries, as also to make such submission as should be required from him on these accounts. Notwithstanding these proposals, the company thought proper to send their admiral with a squadron of thirteen men-of-war, and a number of transports, with orders to see the late treaty strictly executed in every article. He arrived at Macassar on the 19th of December. On the next morning he was visited by two deputies from the king, who brought with them a thousand and fifty-six ingots of gold, which had been promised as a satisfaction for the murder of the Dutch, and also another large sum for the vessels that had been plundered; but at the same time they declared in the name of their king, that the submissions required were inconsistent with his dignity, and therefore could not be complied with. As this refusal had been expected by the company, and as they were informed also that the king of Macassar had sent a large fleet to attack the island of Bouton, they immediately declared war. They made two descents upon the country, and carried off an incredible quantity of plunder, burnt fifty villages to the ground, and about a hundred ships in several ports, the king not having apprehended such a visit. They then proceeded to Bouton, which was at that time besieged by the king of Macassar's general at the head of ten thousand men. The Dutch attacked them in their intrenchments, and finding means to set their magazines on fire, forced them to raise the siege. This event was followed by such a prodigious desertion in the Indian armies, that the generals

A. D. 1666.

of the king of Macassar found themselves obliged to enter into a treaty with the Dutch admiral; and being able to obtain no terms, surrendered at discretion. The first step the victors took was to disarm their prisoners, five or six thousand of whom they sent to a desert island, several hundred they kept as slaves, and five thousand auxiliaries of different nations they delivered up to the king of Palacca, who had been their faithful ally during the war. After every thing was settled, the Dutch admiral returned in triumph to Batavia, where he was received with universal admiration.

It soon appeared that the Indian monarch had entered into the negociation only to gain time. He began to excite the neighbouring princes against the company, by representing that nothing could save them from being reduced to the condition of subjects to these Europeans, but by entering into a close alliance with each other, and employing the whole of their forces against the common enemy. His representations were effectual; and the sovereigns readily entered into alliance, and exerted themselves to the utmost in raising their respective proportions of forces: so that the king of Macassar, as the head of this league, speedily assumed a more formidable appearance than ever.

While he was making these preparations, the Dutch, who were informed of all that was passing, equipped a considerable squadron, and pressed into their service all the neighbouring powers over whom they had any influence. The contest was bloody, but victory decided completely in favour of the Dutch; and from

this period the company have considered all disputes rather as insurrections and rebellions, than wars with free and independent states. The treaty entered into on this occasion fixed the trade of spices entirely and without control in the hands of the Dutch company; whereas formerly, both the Portuguese and the English had found means to purchase them in Celebes, which were carried thither from the Moluccas, and perhaps from other countries with which the Europeans have no correspondence. A. D. 1669.

During the wars of France in Europe, the Dutch took Pondicherry, which in their hands was embellished and fortified, but it was restored at the conclusion of peace. When it is considered how many evils avarice has entailed on these countries, which nature seems by the profusion of her gifts to have destined for happiness; with how many wrecks those seas, interspersed with verdant isles, have been covered; and with how much blood those odoriferous shrubs, the fruit and the bark of which stimulate our languid appetite, has been besprinkled; we might be tempted to deprecate commerce as the cause of all these misfortunes. It is however more than probable, that every nation which seeks for wealth by means of maritime commerce acts nearly in the same manner. The dangers they encounter on the watery element, the resistance they experience before they obtain the object which they are seeking at the hazard of life, and the desire of returning to their native country in affluence, render them insensible to these dreadful consequences: hence they abandon themselves to every kind of excess, and beat

down with ferocious hands every obstacle that opposes their pursuit of wealth.

Were we in possession of as minute details of the commercial transactions of the Argonauts, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Tyrians, as we have of our own, we should find the same scenes of violence and injustice. Maritime commerce is said at first to be humble and submissive ; it gives way to circumstances, and insinuates itself into favour ; it afterward commands and compels : such is, and always will be its progress. Seldom does it prove useful to those who go in search of it, and never does it render them happier. This has been urged in apology for the Dutch ; though it must at last be acknowledged, that no nation has committed in India more cruelties, and more acts of injustice, with greater coolness and indifference.

Whatever they did was the result of reflection and system. It was by this sure and deliberate mode of proceeding, that they were able to unite under their hands, and in one spot, the whole treasure of the spices which nature had distributed in different places. To Ceylon they confined the growth and culture of the cinnamon-tree : the clove-tree, which flourished in all the Moluccas, they transplanted to Amboyna, and immured it within the boundaries of that island : they allow the nutmeg-trees to propagate in the isles of Banda ; but they are strictly guarded by strong garrisons and vessels, which, hovering continually around them, prevent all other nations from collecting their fruit. These unwholesome islands are however, in fact, the grave of their tyrannical usurpers. The Dutch

send thither their malefactors, whom the government does not choose to punish with immediate death. They are used also as a place of correction for young libertines, whose reformation is not entirely despaired of. These exiles are enrolled among the company's troops; but nothing can be more dismal than their fate in the isles of Banda. They are confined to wretched bread, made of the juice of a tree which grows in that country, and to such animal food as is scarcely fit for the nourishment of the human species. The principal of these garrisons is in the island of Celebes, inhabited by the Macassars. It was not without the greatest difficulty, as we have just seen, that the Dutch subdued these warlike and obstinate people. They cannot even now keep them in subjection, but by fomenting quarrels between their petty kings, and supporting the one against another.

It may be here observed, that nature, more powerful than the efforts of these monopolising Hollanders, often conveys back the nutmeg-tree to its native country. Certain large birds, which are not unaptly called the gardeners of the aromatic plants, swallow whole nutmegs, and returning them by the usual passage, thus replant them in the Moluccas, from which they have been eradicated by the Dutch. When this people found it necessary to encourage the multiplication of this tree, they forbade these birds to be killed, under pain of death: they at present bestow a reward on every person who brings one of their heads; but these precautions are not sufficient to prevent the nutmeg-tree from appearing in places from which they wish to proscribe

it. People are even employed to search for it, and to tear it up wherever they find it.

A. D. 1678. After the peace of Nimeguen, when the Dutch were free from any apprehension of again seeing hostile squadrons in the Indies, they renewed their negociations with several of the petty princes, in order to secure the monopoly of trade in their dominions. And they were no less assiduous in contriving to free themselves from those dangers to which they were continually exposed, in their principal settlement upon the island of Java; respecting which they were continually in fear, from causes that were but too well founded, and which therefore, for the sake of domestic and general security, they held themselves obliged to try every method to remove.

The powers that occasioned this uneasiness were the emperor of Java, and the king of Bantam, now an independent prince, though his predecessors were only governors of that city and province for the emperor. The Dutch had done their business by playing off these monarchs against each other, which scheme, though they had hitherto practised it with much dexterity and success, they yet doubted, and with reason, could not be done for ever; they therefore endeavoured to get these monarchs completely into subjection to them, without appearing to subdue them by force, which would have been difficult, if not impossible. This purpose they have so far effected, that though they think it right to treat these sovereigns with all imaginable respect, yet they have no longer any apprehensions from the attempts of the emperor, nor from the assistance

which the king of Bantam might make to their operations.

The emperor of Java is a Mohammedan, and is constantly served by women; of whom he takes as many as he pleases, as wives or concubines. Some of his priests are bound to make a pilgrimage every year to Mecca, to make vows for the safety and prosperity of the king and royal family. The principal persons in his court are obliged at every audience to approach him crawling on their knees; and such of his subjects as commit the slightest fault, are poniarded on the spot with a little dagger: and as this is the only punishment in use, so the slightest as well as the greatest faults are capital crimes among these people.

A war of considerable importance broke out at Java, occasioned by the death of the emperor, and the disputes which arose about the succession: the party which the company adhered to was that of the deceased emperor's brother; while the Javanese, or at least a great part of them, espoused that of his son and heir. This war was more obstinate and of longer continuance than could have been expected; a circumstance which was owing to the young emperor's taking into his service many of the Indian soldiers, who in a time of profound peace had been disbanded by the Dutch, and who, being acquainted with the European discipline, proved very formidable enemies. These men shewed themselves in the course of the war, not at all inferior in point of sagacity and stratagem to the best officers in the Dutch army; and, from their great activity in marching, and their perfect knowledge of the country, they gained fre- A. D. 1704.

quent advantages. But the company, by the help of magazines and fortresses, being able to keep much longer in the field, and also to transport on board their fleets the troops, whenever it was deemed necessary, the Javanese found themselves grievously distressed; so that at length both sides being equally fatigued with a contest which produced nothing but mischief and bloodshed to either, agreed to come to terms of accommodation.

A. D. 1706. In the midst of these troubles, the governor-general John Van Hoorn, had the courage and perseverance to undertake the rebuilding of the town-house. It had been constructed about half a century before, but being composed of brick and wood it began to go rapidly to decay: it might indeed have been easily and at a small expence repaired, but that was deemed unworthy the magnificence of Batavia. The new stadthouse shews to what a degree this notion was carried, since it is reputed the most superb structure that has been erected by Europeans since they penetrated to the Indies. In this noble building the council or college of justice assembles, and it contains also apartments for many inferior courts; so that all the business of the colony is transacted here, and with every possible convenience.

It has been confidently said, that, from the events of this war, the administration of Batavia were convinced that the natives had some secret resources, which, with all their industry, they have never yet been able to discover; for the places which had been destroyed and plundered more than once during the continuation of hostilities, and the inhabitants of which were reduced to the utmost misery, were in a short time in as

good a condition as before, and the people appeared with all their bracelets, and other little ornaments of gold, about them as usual. It is indeed certain, that not in Java only, but throughout the whole of India, the natives are wonderfully suspicious of the Europeans, and conceal with the utmost care the places and the means of procuring either gold-dust or precious stones.

About this period coffee was first cultivated in Java; not as a curiosity, but as an article of commerce. A notion had long prevailed that the Arabs were as jealous and circumspect in regard to this plant as the Indians were about the gold-dust; and that to prevent its being transplanted into other countries, they never suffered a single grain to pass out of their hands, till it was dried in the oven so as to deprive it of the power of vegetation. This, however, seems to have been erroneous; for about the year 1690, some coffee-shrubs in pots were transported to Batavia, where they flourished; but it was not till nearly thirty years afterward that the people of that colony attempted to roast it and use it as an agreeable beverage. Since that time coffee has become a commodity of some importance in Java, as also in the island of Ceylon, with the soil of which latter place the plant is said to agree better than with that of Arabia, as about Mocha the coffee-bushes seldom rise higher than from six to ten or twelve feet, while in Java and Ceylon they will grow commonly to the height of from twenty to forty feet. It is, however, much doubted whether the flavour of the Java and Ceylon coffee is equal to that of Arabia; it was at first universally acknowledged

A. D. 1719.

to be inferior, but in time the former grew more into esteem, and the Dutch now persuade themselves that it is not less valuable than that of Mocha.

The war in Java broke out afresh and continued four or five years, by which the company were put to a great deal of trouble, and were taught, that it was not prudent to employ regular troops for many years together against a barbarous nation, because, however the enemy may be worsted, they are at last beat into courage and discipline. The Dutch were fully convinced that the continuation of hostilities was against their interest; but they were unwilling to sacrifice the advantages they had so long enjoyed, or to conclude the war upon worse terms than they might have had at the beginning. At length, an arrangement was effected, by which the peace of the island was restored. This, however, had not long been enjoyed, when a discovery was made of a very deep and dangerous design, the aim of which was no less than the entire subversion of the government of Batavia, by the destruction of all the Dutch inhabitants, and of the Christians of every denomination who lived under their protection.

A. D. 1721. The plot was detected on the last day of the year, but how or by whom has never been made known, at least with any degree of certainty. Some have ascribed it to the sagacity of the council of the Indies; others are of opinion, that some of the accomplices being mistrustful of the event, secured themselves by betraying their confederates.

Without, however, enquiring into the truth of either of these conjectures, it is certain that the

conspirators were arrested without any confusion, and their whole design defeated. In three months they were brought to trial and convicted: when the undertaking appeared in its nature and management, to have been little inferior to the Catilinarian conspiracy for overturning the Roman republic. The original author of this plot was a Javanese, who had spent four years in establishing secret correspondences over a great part of the island, before he disclosed it to the person whom he afterwards put at the head of the design, and who had been engaged in it about two years. This chief was Erberfeldt, burgess of Batavia, whose father had been a member of the provincial college, and a captain of the horse, but his mother was a Moor. His great motive for joining this cabal was the ambition of making himself sovereign of Batavia. Besides these, there were eight or ten more of different ranks and nations, all of them but mean people, who embarked in this design, and for many months together employed themselves in taking measures for carrying it into execution.

It is a singular circumstance that during all this time, and where so many were entrusted with the secret, no part of it should be divulged: and it would appear much more so, that when the conspirators knew their own force, they were so dilatory; if it had not been discovered from their confessions, that they waited to see what turn the war of Java would take. The plan of the conspirators was to surprise the city, and to put to death all who were not of their party; after which they took it for granted that the mixed multitude of different nations inhabiting the lower countries would either willingly join

them, or submit through fear. The object of their councils, therefore, was to give effect to this point of the surprise. The whole transaction was concerted in the house of Erberfeldt, situated outside of the city. The conspirators likewise often met at a country-house of his, whence they carried on a correspondence with several Mohammedan princes and chiefs of the Indian nations, whom they had found means to draw over to their party. They had agreed that the first attack should be made early on the new-year's day, upon the houses of the governor-general, the council, and other magistrates in the citadel and city, so as to include in the massacre all the principal persons of the government. The last rendezvous of the conspirators was fixed for the evening that should have preceded the attack. Every thing was arranged, both with regard to the destruction of the government and the appointment of all the different officers in the new arrangement of affairs. Before, however, the day arrived, the plot was discovered; the actors taken and executed; and that the memory of this singular transaction might be preserved, the house of the principal criminal was demolished, and the column of infamy erected upon the spot, with an inscription in six different languages, to the following import.

"In this place formerly stood the house of "that unworthy traitor, Peter Erberfeldt, on "which spot no other house shall henceforth "stand for ever."

As the pillar fronts the road, and most of the people who pass by it understand some or other of the languages, it may be presumed that this answers the end of the government. By the

execution of Erberfeldt and his accomplices, the treason was cut off, but the roots of discontent still remained, of which the Dutch were made sensible in the course of a few years. The Chinese who were settled among them had been formerly allowed to celebrate, at a certain season of the year, the feast of their grand idol; but as they were particularly mischievous at this festival, and presumed much upon the liberty granted, the custom had been abolished for many years. The Chinese conceiving rightly that, with the present governors, money would, in every case, be effectual, petitioned for a revival of the fête; and by offering a large present, obtained their request: after which they were never quiet till they brought upon themselves that destruction which to succeeding ages will appear almost incredible.

The number of the Chinese in the city and suburbs, at the time of this conspiracy, amounted, by a very moderate computation, to about ninety thousand men; and the end they had in view was to massacre all the Europeans, by which means they thought they should become masters of whatever the company possessed in the island of Java. Full of these ambitious notions, numbers of them began to retire to the mountains; where they pillaged, burnt, and murdered, without mercy, and without assigning any reason for this behaviour. The country people who were subjects to the company took many of them prisoners, and sent them to Batavia; half of whom were banished to Ceylon, and the rest, after suitable admonition, were suffered to return to their habitations. This lenity, however, was very far from having a

good effect; on the contrary, the rebels in the mountains grew daily stronger, and did immense mischief. At length the regency thought fit to send a body of eight hundred men against these rebels, which succeeded in defeating and completely dispersing them. In the mean time five of the Chinese desired to be admitted to the council, to whom they discovered the whole design in which their countrymen were engaged, and towards the execution of which they had already provided cannon, together with great quantities of ammunition, which they had privately lodged in their houses, as well within the city as without. They had likewise sunk mines in several places, which were actually filled with gunpowder. On receiving this information, every precaution was taken; the guards at the gates of the city were doubled, the forts and every post destined for the security of the settlement were reinforced, and all the officers were ordered to join their respective corps immediately, under the severest penalties. Still, however, the regency could not believe that the danger was so great, or the defection so universal, as it was represented; and therefore, satisfied with acting on the defensive, they began to deliberate on the means of extinguishing these jealousies, and of reducing the Chinese to their duty: but they were quickly made sensible of their mistake, and that things were gone too far to admit of any such palliative remedies; the Chinese relying so much on their superiority of number, that instead of being conciliated by this disposition of mildness, they threw off the mask, and recurred at once to open force.

On this the regency immediately issued their orders that none of the Chinese should appear out of doors, nor have any light in their houses, upon pain of death. At nine in the evening the rebels, now augmented to the number of thirty or forty thousand, advanced to the city with trumpets, drums, and other martial music, hoping that their friends within the gates would be ready to afford them all necessary aid. In this, however, they were completely disappointed; and after several severe contests during the night, they were obliged to desist and retire. The council then assembled, and published an order for putting all the Chinese within the city to immediate death, the women and children only excepted. Their houses were accordingly broken open, and in a few hours the streets, the rivers, and canals, were covered with dead bodies, affording a most dreadful and melancholy spectacle. It was then thought necessary to erect a battery, in order to fire upon the house of the Chinese captain, in which about eight hundred men had taken refuge. As soon as a sufficient breach was made, it was attacked and carried by assault; when thirty of the women ran out on the promise of having their lives spared, and among these the Chinese captain himself, who, being discovered in female apparel, was seized and sent to the citadel. About noon the counsellors returned into the city with the detachment under their command, and the people began to hope for some respite from the horrors of slaughter. But such of the Chinese as had hitherto escaped, now driven into a state of despair, barricadoed their houses, and then set fire to them; so that at A. D. 1740.

mid-day the city was in flames, by which the greatest part of it, and particularly the Chinese quarter which was the most populous, was reduced to ashes. It is impossible to express the consternation which this occasioned; multitudes of women were seen running to the citadel for shelter, while the men also leaped into the streets, where they were either shot or cut to pieces: with this bloody scene, and the massacre of six hundred and thirty-five prisoners who were confined in the citadel, the horrors of the day at length terminated. During the whole time of this melancholy tragedy, the riches of the people, which were immense, were abandoned as a prey to those who would take them; and some who were more engaged about pillage than the business of murder are said to have thus obtained eight or ten thousand crowns. No fewer than twelve thousand Chinese of all ranks and ages fell in this day, while the number of Dutch did not exceed one hundred men. Perhaps however if the Chinese had succeeded the slaughter would not have been less. As soon as things were a little settled in the city, the governor-general set a price upon the heads of the chiefs of the rebels, but offered a pardon to all who should submit and return to their allegiance before a certain time; and notwithstanding what had passed, multitudes came in and accepted the proffered terms.

It will now be proper to give a brief narrative of the most important circumstances relating to the Dutch settlements in India. All the inhabitants of Batavia enjoy liberty of conscience, except in the article of public worship. Priests and monks are not allowed to walk in their habits in the streets, yet they are permitted to

exercise their religion in tranquillity; the Jesuits however are excepted, not so much on account of their doctrines, as of the disturbances which they have at different times excited, in almost all places where they have been established. As the religion of the Chinese is accounted an abomination, they are not suffered to have a pagoda in the city; but they have one about a league distant, where they likewise bury their dead. Every Indian nation at Batavia has its head, or chief, who takes care of its interests; but he has not the power of deciding any thing of public importance, and his function properly speaking regards only the affairs of religion and any slight controversies that may arise among his countrymen. To give a clear idea of the manner in which this people live at Batavia, it will be necessary to say something of the Indian nations, and of their different manners and employments.

The Javanese are skilled in agriculture, fishing, and ship-building. They commonly wear no other habit than a kind of short petticoat, reaching to their knees, all the rest of their bodies being naked: they carry likewise across their shoulders a sort of sash, or scarf, in which hangs a little sword, and on their heads they wear a bonnet. Their cabins are neater than those of the other Indian nations, built of split bamboos, with a large spreading roof which hangs over the house, and under the eaves of which they sit and take the air.

The Chinese inhabitants are very numerous: they seem naturally adapted for trade, are enemies to idleness, and think nothing hard or laborious if the doing it is attended with a cer-

tainty of gain. They can live upon little, are bold, enterprising, have a great deal of address, and are indefatigably industrious. Their penetration is so extraordinary, that it is a common saying at Batavia that the Dutch have only one eye, but the Chinese two; they are however deceitful, take a pride in imposing upon those who deal with them, and boast of that cunning of which they ought to be ashamed. In husbandry and navigation they far surpass all other Indian nations. Most of the sugar-mills in Batavia belong to them, and the distillery of arrack is entirely in their hands. They are the carriers of Asia, and the East-India company itself frequently makes use of their vessels. They keep all the shops and most of the inns in the city, and are likewise the farmers of the duties, excises, and customs.

The Malayans who live at Batavia employ themselves chiefly in fishing: their vessels are neat and elegant, and their sails are ingeniously made of straw. They are a wicked and profligate people, and often commit murders for very trifling temptations. They profess the Mohammedan religion, but do not practise the morality enjoined by the prophet. The negroes who live at Batavia are mostly of the same profession: they come from the coast of Bengal, and dress in the same manner as the Malayans; some of them work at trades, others are a kind of pedlars. They are not suffered to live in the city, but have their quarter near the Chinese burying-ground. They have a chief to whom they pay the greatest submission, and he has a magnificent house in their quarter, well furnished according to their manner. Their arms are

for the most part long sabres and large bucklers.

The Topasses are idolaters composed of different Indian nations, and are of different trades and professions; their merchants carry on a great commerce in all the neighbouring islands. There are also at Batavia some of the Macassars, famous for their little poisoned arrows, which they blow through a trunk; the wound given by one of these is mortal. The Bougils are natives of some islands near Macassar; and since the conquest of this latter, they have settled at Batavia. They are a very hardy people, and on that account the company employ them as soldiers. The Armenians and other Asiatics who reside in Batavia go thither for trade, and stay no longer than their business requires. The natives of the country, who are established in the neighbourhood of Batavia, and for a tract of about forty leagues along the mountains, are more immediately subject to the governor-general. The company send commissaries among them, who administer justice and collect the public revenue. The principal people resort at certain times to the metropolis, to give an account of the conduct of these commissaries in what they call the low country, which is immediately about the city, where the members of government, and the rich merchants, have their pleasure-houses. This part of the island is inexpressibly beautiful, and it may be said without exaggeration that art and nature seem to contend in its embellishment. Rich and regular plantations appear on every side, most of them furnished with mansion-houses that in splendour fall little short of palaces; and every thing is kept in such good order as to

do honour to their possessors. The company's territories are however not confined within these narrow bounds; but its authority extends into different parts of the island.

The island of Ceylon is about as large as Ireland. Little is known of its history. The Hindoos say that it was conquered by the almighty Rama, who constructed a bridge over the shoals and islands, which is still remaining, and is called by his name, but the Mohammedans style it Adam's bridge. In the reign of Claudius, ambassadors were sent to Rome by a Chingalese rajah or king. When the Portuguese seized this island, the chief monarch was the king of Cotta; but the central province of Candy afterwards appears as the leading principality. The Portuguese retained possession of the shores till about the year 1660, when they were expelled by the Dutch; between whom and the king of Candy a war arose which lasted seven years, and terminated in 1766 by the submission of the latter, who surrendered all the coasts, and agreed to furnish yearly a quantity of cinnamon at a low rate. From the sordid domination of the Dutch, it has lately passed under the more liberal authority of the British; and it is to be hoped that our countrymen will furnish us with more precise accounts of the Dutch possessions in general, which mercantile jealousy has hitherto concealed in profound obscurity.

A. D. 1506.

A. D. 1802.

The religion of Ceylon is the ancient worship of Boodh; whose images appear with short crisped hair, because it is said that he cut it with a golden sword that produced this effect. This island is only important, in a commercial view,

from its celebrated products of cinnamon and gems. The harbour of Trincomale on the east is of great consequence to us, because there is none on the eastern coast of Hindostan; and it has been supposed, that in case any great revolution, to which all human affairs are subject, should expel us from the continent of India, this island might afford an extensive and grand asylum where the British name and commerce might be perpetuated.

The natives of Ceylon, called Chingalese, either from a native or Portuguese term, are not so black as those of Malabar, and have few manners and customs distinct from the Hindoos. It is said that among this people several brothers may have one wife in common; and that polygamy is also allowed to the males. In general, chastity is little esteemed in the oriental countries; and the morality of many nations is so loose in this respect, that the intercourse of the sexes is considered as a matter of much more indifference than the use of certain foods.

The native town of Candy, in the centre of the island, seems to be of small size and consequence, and probably only distinguished by a palisade and a few temples. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1590; but no recent traveller appears to have visited this deep recess of sovereign power.

The chief town of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English possessions, is Columbo, a handsome place, and well fortified. The residence of the governor is elegant, but consists of only one floor, with a balcony to receive the cool air. In this town there is a printing-press, where the Dutch

published their religious books in different eastern languages.

The northern parts of Ceylon are chiefly left to the natives; but the town of Jafna, in a detached isle, was a Dutch settlement. The great pearl-fishery is conducted in the gulf of Manar, a miserable place in a sandy district, to which water is brought from Aripoo, a village four miles to the south; the shoals near Rama's bridge supply inexhaustible stores of this valued production.

Little mention is made of the manufactures conducted in this island; but the natives seem not unskilled in the common works in gold and iron.

The pearl-fishery begins about the middle of February, and continues till the middle of April. During this period the village of Condatchey is crowded with a mixture of thousands of people, of different colours, countries, casts, and occupations; with numerous tents, huts, and shops; while the sea presents many boats hastening to the banks, or returning with the expected riches. The divers are chiefly Christians, or Mohammedans, who descend to the depth of from five to ten fathoms, and remain under water about two minutes, each bringing up about a hundred oysters in his net. The precious pearls found in these fish are always formed like the coats of an onion around a grain of sand, or some extraneous particle, which serves as a nucleus, the animal covering it with glutinous matter to prevent disagreeable friction; and even those inclosed in the shell seem produced by similar exertion to cover some rough part, but these are darker and

bluer than genuine pearls. The yellow or gold-coloured pearl is most esteemed by the natives; and some are of a bright red lustre; but the grey and dark colours are of no value.

The second government is that of Amboyna, one of the Moluccas. This island was formerly the seat of the governor-general, before the building of Batavia. It was discovered by the Portuguese about the year 1515, but was not taken possession of by them till 1564, and was conquered by the Dutch about 1607. When it was recently seized by the English, Amboyna and its dependencies were found A. D. 1796. to contain 45,252 inhabitants, of which nearly nineteen thousand were Protestants, the rest Mohammedans, except a few Chinese and savages. The natives of this country cannot be praised, but they differ little from the other Malays; and when intoxicated with opium will commit any crime. The Dutch have discouraged the growth of indigo, lest the natives should become rich and rebellious, but the sugar and coffee are excellent. The English came into possession of the whole spice-islands in 1796, and restored them to their former masters the Batavians by the treaty with France in 1802.

The island of Amboyna is the centre of the rich commerce in spices; to provide for the keeping which more effectually in their hands, the Dutch company take care to have all the clove-trees in the adjacent islands rooted up and destroyed, and sometimes when the harvest is very plentiful in Amboyna, a part of the produce there is burnt likewise. A few days after the fruit is gathered from the tree, the cloves are collected together and dried before a fire, by

which means they lose the beautiful red colour given to them by nature, and change into a deep purple, or rather black, which is perhaps occasioned by their being sprinkled with water. It is pretended that this sprinkling is necessary to prevent the worm from getting into the fruit, but the true reason seems to be to add to the weight of the cloves. The spices are gathered very carefully by the hand, and the least twig broken from the tree occasions a material injury.

Nutmegs are cultivated in the island of Banda; the tree on which they grow is about the size of a pear-tree, and its leaves are like those of a peach. The nutmeg, when ripe, is pretty near the size of a walnut, and is covered with two skins, or shells; when these are taken off, the fruit appears with a little flower at the top, which is very beautiful, and in its form resembles the lily of the valley. The nuts are gathered and dried, being in the first place thrown into quick-lime to preserve them from the worms.

It was formerly supposed that this tree could only be propagated by means of the birds who, as has been before related, swallowed them whole, and when voided, being covered with a thick slime, they would take root and grow immediately. But the best method of cultivating them is by planting them in parks, so called, not on account of their being inclosed by walls and palisadoes, but from their being fenced in with other trees, taller and stouter than the nutmeg, in order to cover and protect the plantation from the winds to which these islands are subject. In these parks a great many slaves are constantly employed in weeding and keeping

the ground clear, and in picking up the fruit that falls of itself, which is commonly the most perfect and valuable. The great harvest is in the months of June and August: and this being the rainy season in those countries, accompanied also with gusts of wind, it is frequently attended with great disasters, such as beating down and bruising the fruit before it is ripe, which however is not lost, but is preserved in sugar and highly esteemed.

There are, among the inhabitants of this island, a sort of burgesses, who have a sole right to keep parks for the cultivation of nutmegs, for which they receive but a moderate gratification, and yet live at their ease. The natives were such a cruel and ferocious race of people, that the Dutch exterminated them, and sent a colony of their own into the islands; but these being composed of the lowest order of the people, are not remarkable for their good qualities. Unable to get a living in other countries, they are sent here to starve. Their misery is however but of short duration, for they are speedily carried off by diseases peculiar to the country. The only people that live here tolerably well are the negroes, who were settled in the island before the conquest of it by the Dutch, and have lived quietly ever since in the mountains.

The island of Macassar is very fruitful, especially in rice, which is a commodity of great value in the Indies. The inhabitants bear so bad a character, that it is not safe for any Christian to venture after dark without the wall of the Dutch forts, or to travel at any time far into the country, for fear of being robbed and murdered. The inland country is under the dominion of three different monarchs, who, very fortunately

for the company, are continually at variance with each other, and by these means the Dutch keep possession of the country.

One of these princes is styled the company's king, because he lives in a good correspondence with them, and promotes their interest as far as lies in his power. They make him from time to time presents of gold chains, crowns of gold set in precious stones, and other things of value, in order to keep him steady to his alliance, and prevent his inclining to an accommodation with the two other monarchs, which might be attended with consequences very fatal to their power and commerce. About the year 1720 there happened an extraordinary event, which it was thought would have given a great turn to the company's affairs; this was the discovery of a gold-mine, conceived then to be of such great consequence, that not only a great number of labourers, but a director also was sent from Batavia to work it.

The Molucca islands were formerly esteemed the most valuable possession in the world, because in them only grew cloves; but after the Dutch had possessed them about twenty-six years, they conceived it for their interest that the cultivation of this spice should be transferred to other of their settlements. Accordingly by a treaty made with the king of Ternate, and other petty princes, it was stipulated, that all these plants should be extirpated in every one of the islands, and not a clove-tree permitted ever to grow in any of them again. This treaty has been twice renewed in consideration of annual pensions granted to the king and principal nobility of Ternate, and to the rest of the princes;

which, notwithstanding a double augmentation, do not amount in the whole to three thousand pounds sterling. For the company's farther security in this particular, they maintain three forts, viz. Orange, Holland, and Williamstadt, with good garrisons, in the island of Ternate; and eight or nine more in the rest of the islands, where they vend a kind of cloth from the coast of Guinea, that brings them back the most part, if not all, their money; and with other merchandise of small value, they purchase rice and tortoise-shell, the only commodities that are now to be met with in the Moluccas.

The colony of the Cape of Good Hope, so long in the hands of the Dutch, was found on the recent conquest by the English, to be of more considerable extent than had been supposed, being 550 English miles in length, and 233 in breadth. The white inhabitants, exclusive of Cape Town, do not exceed 15,000, and the whole may be nearly 20,000. This agreeable and flourishing colony was obtained originally without cruelty or injustice. Van Riebeck, whose name merits a place in history, surgeon of one of the Dutch company's ships, having touched at the Cape, was struck with the extent of the bay, capable of containing more than one hundred vessels; its situation, half-way between Europe and India; and the nature of the soil, which seemed proper for every kind of cultivation. From his own observations, he formed the plan of a settlement, and having matured his ideas during the course of the voyage, on his return he communicated them to the company. His plan was approved, and he received full powers to carry it into execution. He ac-

cordingly embarked with four vessels, having on board every thing that was necessary for an infant colony. Van Riebeck resolved to make justice the foundation of his proceedings. He purchased, therefore, land from the inhabitants of the country, where he wished to form an establishment, gave them merchandise to be selected at their own choice, to the value of fifty thousand florins, and did not oblige them to retire to a great distance. When they chose to be industrious, he paid them for their labour; and when sick, he assisted them in his professional capacity. In short, he fulfilled all his engagements with the most scrupulous fidelity; and by these means inspired the Hottentots with a confidence in the Dutch, which has never been entirely obliterated.

This colony was long considered as the foster-mother not only of the Dutch, who touch there in their voyages to and from the Indies, but also of other nations. They find there every thing to supply their wants, and, in particular, abundance of refreshments. The fruits of every climate have been naturalised in this happy country, and its immense magazines are filled with provisions of all kinds. The Dutch have applied to the breeding and rearing of cattle. Their settlements extended as far as three hundred leagues up the country, from which they bring down, on the arrival of the ships, numerous herds. They live in a state of perfect friendship with the Hottentots, who never plunder them, though these savages are in a state of continual warfare with each other. The spirit of the excellent Van Riebeck seems still to animate the planters. It is displayed in their countenances,

by that cheerful and serene air with which they are animated. The complexions of the Dutch women are enlivened here with a ruddiness which is commonly denied to them in Europe. The Dutch settlement was formed in 1660.

To the south-east of Cape-Town are some small vineyards, which yield the celebrated wine called Constantia, and even at very remote distances there are plantations of various kinds; but large tracts are irrecoverably barren, consisting of ranges of mountains, and level plains of hard clay slightly covered with sand. The country is more fertile toward the Indian ocean than toward the Atlantic, a character which seems to pervade the whole of Africa, as on the east is Abyssinia, while on the west is the Zaara. The chief resorts of trading vessels are False Bay on the south, and Table Bay on the north, which opens to Cape-Town.

Malacca may be compared to the Cape. If the latter is a link which connects Europe and Asia, Malacca is the key of the commerce between the peninsula of India, the kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, and the adjacent islands as far as China and Japan. The Dutch obtained it from the Portuguese, by the treachery of the governor. They had laid siege to the fortress, and began to despair of taking it, when the avarice of the commander threw open the gates, upon the promise of eighty thousand crowns. They rushed into the place, instantly massacred every person whom they found under arms, and proceeded straight to the house of the traitor, who believed himself to be in perfect safety; they, however, dispatched him to save themselves the expence of the promised reward.

Besides the territories of which the company is sole master, there is no place in India where it has not its factories, or at least a commercial intercourse. It almost every where shares in the trade of others, suffering others to participate as much as possible in its own. It has made astonishing efforts to appropriate to itself alone the purchase and sale of pepper; but this spice is the production of too many different countries to admit of being monopolised. The company however endeavour to secure the best by treaties with the sovereigns where it abounds; when stronger, compelling them, and when weak, inducing them by the payment of a stipulated sum to prevent their subjects from selling their pepper to any other Europeans: in a word, there is no cunning, no address, no violence, and no industry, which the subtle Dutchman does not employ to accomplish his ends. It has been said that this people have no character but what is formed by circumstances; that interest is their deity; which is proved at Japan, where their merchants expose themselves to voluntary insults, are received with contemptuous suspicion, allow themselves to be confined and immured, to be restrained in their actions, in their words, and even in their religious opinions: it is true they have a little island allowed them where they have magazines for their goods, and a few ordinary houses in which such persons live as are in the company's service, but they are not allowed to pass the bridge that joins this island with the city of Nangazaki. The only appearance of liberty that is left them, consists in the chiefs going once a-year, attended by two or three persons, to the court of the emperor, in

quality of ambassador, to renew the treaty of commerce and amity which subsists between that monarch and the company. The great cause of keeping the Dutch in this state of subjection, is a suspicion that they have an inclination to establish themselves by force, of which they have given some very striking symptoms: the last of these is not likely to be forgotten.

Mr. Carron, their chief, a person of great talents, made several journeys to the emperor's court, and found means to ingratiate himself with that monarch, till at length he requested permission to build a house on the little island where their factory stood. The foundation was laid, and the business went on prosperously, till it grew into a handsome fortification of a regular tetragon, or square. The Japanese, entertaining no suspicion of their purpose, suffered them to complete the building. When it was finished, Mr. Carron attempted to procure by stealth some cannon, ball, and powder, from Batavia; but in landing these articles, a large cask containing a brass piece of ordnance burst, and the deception was discovered. This incident put a stop to all commerce, till the emperor's pleasure could be known. He did not, however, prohibit the continuance of the trade; but gave orders to put to death any Dutchman who should attempt to leave the island, and directed that Mr. Carron should be sent to answer for this fault to Jedso, where the emperor resided. Being examined on his arrival, he was able to say nothing in excuse; and was sentenced to have his beard plucked out hair by hair, then dressed in a fool's coat and cap, and in this condition to be exposed through the streets of

the city. After having undergone this ceremony, he was sent back to the factory, with orders to return by the first ship that was sent to Batavia.

Most of the Japanese have a strong propensity to commerce. In their villages, as well as great towns, almost every private house is a magazine for some kind of traffic; so that they have been very aptly described as a nation of shopkeepers. Yet this general inclination does not hinder persons of rank, and of the learned professions, from entertaining a very low and mean opinion of trade; from a notion that the desire of gain is a principle of fraud, and must consequently produce many vices.

As soon as the Dutch ships arrive, the governor of Nangazaki dispatches several boats filled with soldiers, who immediately surround them, and carry away the cannon, the gunpowder, and all the arms, together with the rudder, sails, cables, and spare anchors. The crew are shut up in the small island of Dezima, where they are personally examined in succession, and compared with the description which is given of their persons, while the merchandise is unpacked; and if the smallest error is found in the invoice, or if an image, or even a book, is discovered which has the least relation to the Christian religion, it becomes an affair of state, and must be communicated to the governor of the town, and from him to the emperor.

At the entrance of this island from the bridge, there is a large stone pillar, upon which stand in several tables the emperor's edicts for the regulation of the Dutch trade; and three posts are set up at sea, to mark the places where the

Dutch ships are to anchor, to prevent them from coming too near the city. The island is surrounded with spiked palisadoes, like a park, and is not more than two hundred and fifty yards long, by about eighty broad. There is a very convenient house for the Japanese director of trade, who goes thither when the ships arrive, besides another handsome house for the Japanese magistrate, who always resides there. In all the streets of the cities of this nation there is a separate magistrate; and as they consider the island Dezima as nothing more than a street added to their city of Nangazaki, a magistrate is appointed to this as well as in the other streets.

The Dutch inhabitants of this island seldom exceed the number of forty-five, and the Japanese oblige them to change their chief every year: the trade is also under great restraint; the prices of the articles sold must not exceed a certain fixed rate, all merchandise above this must be stored and kept till another year. The Dutch who remain to take care of this surplus must the following season reimbark; and their place is supplied by new comers, who, like their predecessors, submit to be kept in a state of imprisonment during a whole year, guarded by day and by night, and obliged, in the same manner as the Japanese, to go through the ceremony of spitting and trampling upon the cross.

It might be expected that some pleasure would be enjoyed by the director, and three or four Dutchmen, chosen by himself, with whom he traverses the kingdom to pay his respects to the emperor, and deliver the presents sent by the company; but, under the pretence of honour, he is in reality treated like a prisoner during the

whole journey. The transactions of each day are previously regulated, and nothing can derange them but a severe indisposition, or some other insurmountable obstacle. He is not allowed to speak to any one, to pay any visits, or to view public monuments or objects, though at the smallest distance, which may excite his curiosity. No liberty is left to him except that of looking at whatever is immediately around him; and if he desire information respecting any thing he sees, he is sure to receive no satisfaction.

When the Japanese are asked the reason of this reserve, and above all, of the rigour which they exercise among themselves for the least infraction of their laws, they reply to the following effect: "We know the advantages of the government we have established, and we are unwilling to run the risk of a change, by introducing among us your customs, which may be adapted to your character, and which we therefore do not condemn. Great revolutions are effected insensibly and by degrees. The desire of innovation can be cured only by continued precaution, and the rod of punishment."

It would appear as if this maxim had been the foundation of the laws and regulations which the Dutch company have established for their servants in India. To begin with the governor-general: Though his power is extensive, he is subjected to certain strict forms of etiquette, which are a continual burthen. The supreme council may present to him severe remonstrances, and may even put him under arrest, and bring him to trial. Thus, with all his authority, his situation differs very little from that of the doge of Venice, whose hands are tied though he is

surrounded with honours. It must, however, be confessed, that the merit of almost all these governors, who are never raised to that office but by election and in consequence of signal services, frees them in general from being subjected to servile rules; and the company, for the most part, has found its advantages in granting them that indulgence. In the same manner as the chief, all the subalterns, from the director-general down to the meanest servant of the company, are obliged to conform to certain regulations, from which they are never suffered to depart. As the laws are well known, no excuse for the infraction of them is admitted. And, according to several authors, it is to the care which the company has taken in this respect; to its wisdom in regulating trifling matters; to its great strictness which by some is called severity; and to its vigilance in maintaining the good order established with so much prudence; that the stability of its power and the success of its projects are to be ascribed.

This description of the Dutch East-India company shall be concluded with some account of their domestic economy, and of the immense profits that have resulted to Holland from this commerce.

At the time when the original stock of the East-India company was subscribed by men of property residing in different places, there were six chambers erected, one in each of the cities and great towns whence the subscriptions came; and from these chambers thus established the seventeen directors are deputed who meet four times a-year, and may be considered as sovereigns of this company, yet under the authority

of the States-General. They regulate all affairs of consequence, such as appointing counsellors of the Indies, captains and subaltern officers in the land and sea-service, equipping of ships, the sale of goods, the divisions of profits; and all the inferior chambers are obliged to conform to their orders.

There are two advocates belonging to the company, who transmit the resolutions of the directors to the Indies; on which the officers of the company form their arrangements and issue their orders. There are eight deputies for the affairs of the marine; four to inspect their magazines, and the goods that are sent to, and come from the Indies; and four to take care of the money which the company pays and receives: and other deputies are charged with the accounts and affairs relating to order and justice, which is done to the meanest person as well as to the greatest officers, and with equal expedition.

The whole is kept in strict subordination by means of the wise regulations made in establishing the directors, and the care taken that no two of them shall be related to one another. Once in three years the States-General demand and receive a strict account of the whole transactions of the company, in order to be satisfied that they keep within the bounds of their charter; that they do justice to their proprietors; and that they manage their trade so that it may not be prejudicial to the republic, a regulation which has been esteemed the principal cause that the affairs of the company have been hitherto well conducted.

Their manner of buying and selling East-India stock, is very easy and expeditious. When the

parties have settled the price between themselves, they go together to the India-house, where the seller applies himself to the clerk of the book in which his stock is entered, and desires him to transfer so much from his account to that of the buyer, which being done, he signs it, and afterwards signs a receipt for the purchase-money; and the whole transaction being performed in the presence of a director, he signs the book likewise, so that there is not the possibility of any fraud being committed; yet the whole expence of the transfer amounts to only about seven shillings and six pence of our money upon a concern worth three thousand florins, and in the same proportion for all smaller sums. The directors, who have the sole management of the company's business, settle not only the times, but the quantities and qualities of the goods that are to be exposed in their sales; from the produce of which their dividends are paid, which of course are high or low according to the profits of the company. It must, however, be observed, that they have never divided to the full extent of their profits; because long wars and other chargeable expeditions must be defrayed out of the reserved stock, to prevent a great and apparent decrease in their dividends, which would cause a considerable fall in the price of stock. Besides they have constantly paid the government very large sums, for the renewals of their charters, and for such other acts of state as they have procured from time to time in their favour. It has been found also requisite for them to keep large sums in hand, to answer the exigences of the state, as well as those of the company in times of difficulty and danger; and they conti-

nually reserve vast quantities of spices, and other rich commodities, that their sales might not lower the price of them too much, and upon this principle they sometimes burn great quantities of these valuable articles. Formerly they had recourse to the method of paying their dividends in cloves, mace, and nutmegs, at a very low price, by which those who received them gained very considerable advantages.

CHAPTER IX.

The History of the Commerce, &c. which the Danes formerly maintained, or still support, in the East-Indies.

THE Danes, celebrated as mariners, are well known to have reduced under their power the British isles, invaded France, and founded the duchy of Normandy. They penetrated to the Mediterranean sea, and made their name famous from the coasts of Naples to those of Asia. It is highly probable that from Asia or Africa they borrowed the idea of the White Elephant, which is the badge of the military order of Denmark. This country, at present so confined, once gave laws to the whole North, when Sweden and Norway were both subject to it. At that period, contented with the fame of its power and its arms, this nation paid very little attention to affairs of commerce; and their emulation in this point was not awakened till the year 1612, when an East-India company was formed under Christian IV. As the success of the project depended in a great measure upon the issue of their first adventure, they were more solicitous to have every thing in good order than to run any hazard by an ill-timed impatience. Seamen, who had visited the Indies in the service of different powers, were at that time easy to be met with in any of the northern ports; and of these they collected as many as they could. They like-

wise took care to study accurately and very attentively whatever had been published in Italy, Spain, Portugal, England, or the Low-countries, in relation to this subject.

Being able to proceed only with a timid step in the tracts of the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the English, nations which were already established and powerful, this company made a feeble and slow progress. By constancy and perseverance it however effected an opening for itself on the coast of Coromandel, where it built the city of Tranquebar, its only settlement a few factories excepted. They behaved with mildness and humanity in these countries, accustomed to experience the injustice of Europeans; and purchased the territories which they possess, paying for them annually a certain acknowledgment.

Notwithstanding the pacific character of the Danes, they were exposed to vexatious acts of oppression from the rajah of Tanjore, who first gave them shelter. This prince possesses a dismembered part of the great empire of Bisnagar, the sovereign of which assumes the lofty and whimsical titles of "King of Kings and Husband "of the thousand Wives." The monarch of Tanjore, accustomed to invasion, attempted several times to take back what he had ceded to the new settlers; but the commerce of the company, badly supported in Europe, fell and rose, yet was never in a flourishing condition compared with that of other nations, and therefore little need be said respecting it. It employs about two ships, which go and return, but not regularly. The kings of Denmark imagined that they should be able to derive from this settlement

a profit much more useful in the eye of reason than in that of commerce, by civilising the surrounding natives. They sent thither missionaries, who had very little success with the Mohammedans, but who have made considerable progress among the pagans. These apostolic labourers are highly respected in this part of the coast of Coromandel, where they have propagated their religion. They have also acquired the knowledge of many particulars of which we were before ignorant, respecting the manners and customs of the Indians who inhabit the extremity of the peninsula; having penetrated into the country and learned the Tamulic, which is the polite language, and the most common among the heathens. And it may be remarked, that whatever effect the Christian missionaries may have produced with regard to religion, it is to them that Europe is indebted for its earliest and most useful information respecting distant and savage nations.

CHAPTER X.

The History of the French Commerce in the East-Indies.

THE natural ambition and great vivacity of the French nation, have made it a subject of wonder to some of the best of their own writers, that they came so late to understand the benefits of commerce, and the great influence arising from a naval force. But if we consult one of the ablest, as well as greatest men whom France ever produced,* it will not be difficult to discover the real causes of the tardiness shewn by this people in applying themselves to points of such importance, and of the small success they met with in their first undertakings. They were not goaded by the spur of necessity, which produced such astonishing effects upon the Venetians and the Dutch, who were forced, for a subsistence, to those measures which in a short time raised them to wealth and power: there were, generally speaking, great imperfections in their government, at least with regard to these matters, some of their monarchs having had too little, and others too much power; in the former situation they were able to give but small encouragement to such projects, and in the latter the want of security in the possession of property was a bar to industry, and extinguished public spirit: lastly, the fickleness and vanity

* Testament Politique du Cardinal Richelieu.

of their tempers rendered the French very unfit for undertakings that required a calm, steady, and tractable disposition.

It will not be doubted that these reasons are well founded, when it is known how early one of the greatest French monarchs discerned these inconveniences, and with how much earnestness he laboured to find proper remedies for them. In the year 1527, Francis the First invited his subjects to embark in distant voyages; and he earnestly renewed his exhortations in 1543 and 1575, offering assistance to those who should sail on expeditions of discovery; but no important enterprise was undertaken in consequence of these suggestions and offers. In 1604, Henry IV. established a company; but it achieved nothing: in 1611, it received encouragement and support from Lewis XIII. but these were attended with no effect. A new company was formed in 1615, which sent out two ships in 1617, and three others in 1619; but so little advantage was still derived from a voyage to the Indies, that the company thought it prudent to confine its speculations to Madagascar.

Cardinal Richelieu resolved to revive this commerce, and undertook the task with great spirit. The royal privileges granted to the new company contained all that could be thought necessary for promoting a society under the peculiar protection of so great a minister. Unfortunately the sovereign died in a very short time after he had turned his attention seriously to the subject; but during the minority of his successor, all the privileges of the company were confirmed by an edict dated September, 1643. These it quietly enjoyed for twenty A. D. 1642.

years, sending every year a vessel to Madagascar, but many of them either suffered shipwreck in the passage or lost the greatest part of their crews by sickness: so that though the name of an East-India company was kept up in France, yet the nation was in fact possessed of no such trade, but still contented themselves with fruitless attempts to settle a colony at Madagascar, a design which after all did not answer their expectations. Not discouraged, however, with this want of success, cardinal Richelieu took every possible care to investigate the causes of their failure. He sent for persons who were best versed in this trade, from Holland; drew into France a considerable number of rich merchants from different parts of Europe; formed the plan of a new establishment from his own ideas; and engaged the principal persons of quality and fortune in the nation to embark in the undertaking. This step, which he conceived would promote, proved the ruin of the whole design: for there being always some great man at the head of the business, such as endeavoured to obtain employment in the company's service were forced to become the creatures of this patron, by which means scarcely any men who had merit or capacity were employed; so that such as were the best judges of the means of carrying on this commerce with success, treated the East-India company as a phantom, and never concerned themselves with it. On the other hand too, the English and Dutch companies, being solely guided by experience, ridiculed the idea of a French East-India company; while the other European states, seeing that France, with all her power, could effect no part of her object in this

undertaking, concluded that the India trade was designed by nature for the maritime powers, and did not trouble themselves about it; circumstances which would be hardly credible, if we had not the authority of history in this point.

The scene however soon changed when Lewis the Fourteenth came to manage his own affairs, and had taken into his service such ministers as were capable of foreseeing and overcoming all the difficulties that could occur in the execution of the great designs which they formed for the glory of the nation. The celebrated M. Colbert, so much distinguished by that great prince, whose activity and prudence procured his master many of those successes which rendered him the most powerful monarch in Europe, was the person who conceived the project of reviving the French East-India company, notwithstanding all the misfortunes which had disappointed the skill and diligence of his predecessors. Before he made his intentions known to the public, he took care to be well informed on the subject, by contracting an acquaintance with such merchants and seamen as were thought to understand it best. From them he learnt the three principal difficulties, in the carrying his purpose into effect. The first was the want of a sufficient fund for establishing such a company: the second was a peremptory exclusion of foreigners: the third and greatest difficulty was the granting and confirming such a degree of liberty and independence to this company as might satisfy strangers and natives respecting the security of their property, and put the entire management of their affairs into the hands of such only as they themselves esteemed fit to be trusted. To

attain these grand objects, it was necessary to give a stimulus to the nation. The pens of the most celebrated academicians were employed, and memoirs which held forth the most inviting prospects, and foretold the greatest success, were distributed in profusion. The shares were ensured by sanction of parliament. The sovereign made a speech in its favour, and subscribed 300,000 livres; while through a desire of imitating so high an example, or through zeal, the greater part of the nobility interested themselves also, and they were followed by the opulent.

A. D. 1665. Four ships well stored with every thing necessary to supply the colony with provisions, and to improve it, were thus fitted out, and sailed for the island of Madagascar, which had now assumed the name of "*Isle Dauphine.*" From this settlement some vessels were dispatched to Cochin; but during their passage, the new settlers of Madagascar, finding themselves in a pleasant and fertile country excellent for hunting and the other sports of the field, gave themselves up entirely to these amusements, without attending to the interests of the company by whom they were paid and maintained. Their employers treated them as they deserved, by requesting the king to take back the island, in which few of these pretended merchants afterward remained. The most useful of them were conveyed to Surat in 1670.

A. D. 1667.

The company, instead of applying seriously to commerce, amused itself with selling its privilege to private ships which traded in its name. It imported from India, or caused to be manufactured in France and Switzerland, white cot-

ton cloth, which it painted or printed itself. The beauty of the designs brought a temporary profit; but this traffic, which eluded the payment of duties, embroiled the company with the farmers-general, who being more necessary at the moment to the service of government, because they promoted the public loans, triumphed over their opponents. The company, when just on the brink of destruction, was saved by uniting itself to a China company, and in a few years afterwards by an association of the merchants of St. Malo, who contributed to its support in India. A. D. 1700.

While the company was supporting itself in Europe by desperate measures, borrowing and paying, discounting and entering into new engagements, its servants were endeavouring to retrieve its finances in India.

A king of Visiapour, whom they had found means to gain over to their interest, ceded to them a small district on the coast of Coromandel, where, in 1681, they built the town of Pondicherry. This place, which had cost them immense care and expence, was taken by the Dutch in 1693; within four years afterwards it was greatly improved with regard to its buildings and fortifications, and in 1710 it contained sixty thousand inhabitants. It was indebted for this prosperity to a governor named Francis Martin, a man of genius and intelligence. He persuaded the inhabitants to submit to some burthens in order to ensure the prosperity of their city; and by a conduct which displayed moderation and equity, removed the jealousy of the natives.

As the French, when they settled at Pondicherry, had no other power than what they ob-

tained by their address, they were thus prevented from abandoning themselves to their usual vivacity, and from shewing the faintest traces of that contempt for the manners of foreign nations which sometimes renders them insupportable. They displayed the fair side only of their character, and behaved with the greatest politeness and respect toward the neighbouring kings and princes. This conduct procured them friends, from some of whom they received particular marks of esteem. They often performed good offices to the Indians as well as the Europeans, lived on friendly terms with each other, and protected the natives from the incursions of the plunderers and banditti by whom the public roads had been before infested. By these means they induced the Indians, who were naturally a temperate, pacific, and industrious people, to settle in their territories, where they were certain of enjoying in peace the fruits of their labour. This system, in which they continued more than fifty years, gained a high reputation to the French in India. The flourishing state of Pondicherry caused the principal seat of commerce to be transferred thither in the beginning of the last century; and Surat has remained merely a factory, still important, but too much neglected.

No commercial company has experienced so many vicissitudes as the French East-India company. While united to the China company, the directors exerted themselves, as far as they were able, in hopes of restoring their affairs in India; but finding themselves inadequate to a task of such magnitude, they were forced to apply to the court, and to confess that they

were again under such difficulties, that without his majesty's gracious assistance their trade and establishments must fall. A. D. 1701. The monarch, who retained the maxims which Colbert had so often impressed upon his mind, offered to lend them a considerable sum of money on certain conditions; to these terms the directors complied, but the majority of proprietors withheld their consent, which occasioned a warm and protracted dispute, the termination of which was occasioned by an arrêt from the crown. In a few years they became bankrupts, so that the king stopped all prosecutions at law against them for debt; A. D. 1708. and, that the trade to India might not entirely cease, he granted his permission for the company to enter into a treaty to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to private persons who should be inclined to contract for them.

After the death of Lewis XIV. the regent, in order that he might employ the East-India company as an ostensible support to his system, united it to a West-India company, which was announced to the public as an inexhaustible treasure. The edict of union gave to the association the lofty title of the "Perpetual "India Company." The privileges were declared to be perpetual and irrevocable: but as titles do not supply funds, this magnificent company found itself on the brink of ruin; when the exhausted state of the kingdom, a consequence of the prevailing system, prevented the government from affording it relief. The adventures and returns were irregular and uncertain; heavy debts were incurred in India,

and the company was unable to take up its bills when they became due. Under the wise administration of cardinal Fleury, money was procured when it was no longer expected: this was a happy change; but vicissitudes are always ruinous to commerce. The prudent minister supported, as long as he was able, the tottering edifice; and it was with the utmost regret that he found himself obliged, at last, to withdraw that assistance which alone had hitherto prevented its fall: but the war was a fatal blow to the company, which never recovered the losses it then sustained, and which, notwithstanding the efforts of its brave defenders, were afterwards accumulated. It however still retains possessions capable of feeding the hopes of a warlike nation, which ought to consider it as below its dignity to suffer itself to be discouraged by misfortunes.

A. D. 1744.

The Isles of France and Bourbon, situated at a small distance from each other, and within a short distance from Madagascar, are places of great importance to the French for their India trade. The air in both is salubrious, though warm; but it is cooled by the breezes from the mountains, and by an annual hurricane. The soil of the Isle of France is not remarkably fertile for rice or various other sorts of grain; but this deficiency is supplied by potatoes and other roots. It furnishes also plenty of game, and fish in abundance; the meadows afford subsistence to numerous herds of cattle, and the trees are beautiful, particularly the ebony, which in quality surpasses every other yet known. Bourbon possesses this advantage over its rival, that it produces excellent coffee; but the Isle of

France has a good harbour, which renders it more convenient for trade, and neither of them is infested with venemous insects. These islands are each about thirty or forty leagues in circumference; they are well watered, and produce every necessary of life. At a small distance from them lies a lesser one called *Isle Rodrigue*, with scarcely any thing but an accumulation of sand, inhabited more by tortoises than men.

When the Portuguese discovered the Isle of France, they left there, according to a custom that is highly commendable, hogs, goats, and poultry, which the Dutch found greatly multiplied when they landed on the island in 1598. They named it Mauritius, after prince Maurice, and began to form plantations in it. As they wanted labourers in proportion as these increased, they sent to Madagascar for some of those blacks who had put themselves under the protection of the French, and whom the latter had sold as slaves. These men thus reduced to slavery by the most infamous treachery, after living in a state of freedom, did not answer the expectations of their new masters; they made their escape into the woods, where they multiplied, and acquired so much strength that they obliged the Dutch to abandon the island; but the conquerors did not quit their retreats, from which they sallied out on the ships that touched to take in water or refreshments for their sick. These acts of violence compelled the Dutch to erect three small forts for the protection of the watering-places; but the blacks remained masters of the interior parts of the island, and forced the Hollanders to abandon it a second time. The French, who had long kept an eye

upon this establishment, took possession of it in 1710, and gave it the name of the *Isle de France*.

The affairs of the company, notwithstanding the sums which it advanced to the new settlers, were attended here with so little prosperity, that, like the Dutch, it was deliberating whether it ought not to abandon the island altogether to the blacks. While in this state of uncertainty, Labourdonnaie stepped forward, and induced them to make a last effort. He set out for the colony with very moderate resources, and though indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the interests of the company, his conduct was so ill rewarded, that he died of a broken heart, in consequence of a long imprisonment. This fact, so disgraceful to the authors of it, deserves to be related more at large.

A. D. 1735.

On his arrival he found the Isle of France in a state of the greatest misery. The inhabitants, few in number, were ignorant, lazy, and mutinous, though half-naked, destitute of defence, and perishing with hunger. He sent for young negroes from Madagascar, gave them proper instructions, and employed them to compel the maroon negroes either to submit or quit the island. He scarcely found in it a single planter, artisan, or soldier; he assumed all these characters himself to induce the inhabitants to follow his example. When he landed he beheld nothing but wretched huts: in two or three years, besides houses for individuals, he had erected warehouses, arsenals, fortifications, barracks for officers, mills, quays, and aqueducts; one of these last is three thousand six hundred toises in length, which conveys fresh water to the port

and the hospitals. There were neither highways, horses, nor carriages: the governor taught the inhabitants to overcome all these difficulties, and in the course of eighteen months he caused to be transported to the port timber of all kinds proper for the building of ships and bridges. In the year 1737 he launched a brig, and in the following year two other ships were built, and one of five hundred tons burthen put on the stocks. These great and solid improvements were accomplished in the course of five years, and even before any one suspected that such changes were projected; so that when admiral Boscawen arrived at the island, thinking to take it by assault, he found it in the best state of defence, and was obliged to direct his plans of conquest against Pondicherry, to which the governor of the Isle of France was able to send material assistance. A. D. 1740.

The isle of Bourbon was also discovered by the Portuguese, who called it Mascarhenas, after the name of an illustrious family of Portugal. The French settled at Madagascar had banished thither some men, who being recalled at the expiration of three years, gave a very favourable description of it. Their report excited the curiosity of Thaureau, an inhabitant of Fort Dauphin, and he removed to Mascarhenas, in 1654, with seven Frenchmen and six negroes. They gave the island the name of Bourbon, erected huts, and planted gardens; but as they received no intelligence from Madagascar, they began to grow uneasy. In 1658 they went on board an English ship, which conveyed them to Madras. The French who escaped some time after from Madagascar, when expelled by the natives who

were irritated by their gallantries, being driven in two vessels, with their wives and children, toward the isle of Bourbon, thought themselves happy to find there the huts and gardens of Thaureau. While their little colony increased in peace, their population was augmented by the arrival of some pirates who had been shipwrecked on the shoals near the coast: they took shelter in the island with some female Indians who had accompanied them; were well received by the inhabitants, whose friendship they gained; and entering into alliances with them, formed only one people. They reinforced themselves afterward by a great many slaves who were necessary for the cultivation of the lands. The mixture of races was, by these means, increased: but it is worthy of remark, that in regard to rank and privileges, there is no distinction in Bourbon between the blacks and whites; though different in colour, they consider themselves as members of the same family. It is related by a traveller of reputation, that he saw at church a great-grand-father perfectly black, the daughter a mulatto, the granddaughter a mestizo, the daughter of the granddaughter a quaderon, and the daughter of the last absolutely fair. Bourbon, besides what is common to it and the Isle of France, produces cotton, pepper, benjamin, alum, and excellent tobacco. It contains a volcano, always in a state of eruption. It is intersected by mountains, covered with such impenetrable woods that there are districts of the island which can have no intercourse with each other but by the sea. The inhabitants are well made, remarkably nimble, brave, and ingenious.

This island was taken possession of by the

company, which still retains its factories at Mocha for coffee; at Surat for the trade of the Persian Gulf; at Bassorah for that with Persia, by land; together with Aleppo, as an intermediate magazine. In all these places the preponderance is disputed by the various nations of Europe; who however ought, for their own sakes, to live in perfect harmony, both that they may not interfere with each other's markets, and by these means avoid enhancing the price of merchandise, and that they may defend themselves in common from the vexatious oppression of the Mohammedan government. The company likewise preserves some establishments on the coast of Malabar, but more on the coast of Coromandel, and particularly Carical, situated in a fertile district, which produces rice, cotton, and indigo. The French are indebted for this very profitable settlement to a treaty with the king of Tajore, and not to any act of violence; and it was by mildness and equity also that it acquired Pondicherry, which was raised to the highest state of splendour by Dumas and Dupleix.

By the French historians these two governors are highly applauded for their conduct in the management of the affairs of India. When Thomas Kouli Khan made the mogul emperor a prisoner in his own capital, the viceroys of that monarch, who refused to arm in his defence, thought themselves sufficiently strong to conceive the idea of acquiring great states at the expence of the petty Indian princes, their neighbours. Ali Khan, nabob of Arcot, a province on which Madras and Pondicherry depended, was one of these ambitious chiefs. He assem-

bled a large army, subdued the surrounding princes, and carried his conquests to the other side of the peninsula, with a design to get possession of a part of the coast of Malabar; but the Indians, alarmed at these appearances, applied to the Mahrattas, a numerous and warlike people, who inhabit the mountains, whom they persuaded that the nabob of Arcot, being a Mohammedan, intended to exterminate the pagans. The Mahrattas took the field in 1733 to defend their religion; and defeated that nabob, who was killed before his sons (for whom he intended these conquests, and who were carrying on war in another quarter) could come to his assistance; and the Mahrattas over-ran his whole empire, laying waste the country with fire and sword.

Ali Khan's widow requested an asylum of the governor of Pondicherry, who received her with politeness, and procured her every thing that could alleviate her misfortunes. The Mahrattas demanding the individuals of this family to be given up to them, Dumas refused, and supported a siege, which was attended with but very little bloodshed, as the place was strong and well fortified, and as these people were not much acquainted with the art of attacking towns. Having acquired a large quantity of plunder, the besiegers retired on receiving a present. A report of the generous behaviour of the French was conveyed even to the court of the Mogul, with whom the nabob's son had entered into a treaty, and the prime minister wrote a letter of thanks to M. Dumas. The son of the deceased sovereign paying a visit to his mother, to afford her consolation, the governor received him with every possible mark of honour; which

so highly gratified the prince that he conferred upon him three districts producing ample revenues, and sent him his father's armour and dress of ceremony, enriched with gold and precious stones. The Great Mogul being informed of this grant made to the governor, immediately confirmed it, and added to it the dignity of nabob, which gave him the command of a force of above four thousand horse. Dumas requested that these favours might not be conferred upon him personally, but remain attached in perpetuity to the governor of Pondicherry, which was accordingly acceded to by the Indian emperor.

He was succeeded by Dupleix, who took possession of his government with all the pomp and splendour usual on such occasions. He surrounded himself with every appendage of honour attached in India to that dignity; a numerous guard and brilliant band of music, placed at the most frequented gate of the city, a custom which forms a part of the privileges of a nabob. While the French were highly gratified with these flattering marks of distinction, admiral Boscawen arrived before the city. He landed a body of troops, and laid siege to the place. Vanity, the natural foible of the French, now gave way to military duty: every man became a soldier; and Dupleix shewed himself as able in the field as in the cabinet. The English were repulsed and re-imbarked; and this defence procured the French new marks of esteem, which they still retain notwithstanding the reverses of their fortunes in this quarter of the globe. A. D. 1741.

This company carries on trade also with

China. All its imports must be brought to the port of L'Orient, situated on the coast of Britany, at the mouth of the river Blavet. The largest ships may anchor at the bottom of the bay, but few of them enter it. The Perpetual Company has been brought to ruin by the three causes before enumerated; the abundance of the mother country, the faults of the government, and the national character. A fourth may be added; that the centre of the company's affairs, being in the capital, was at too great a distance from the sea: besides these, interest, instead of attention to merit and talents, was too predominant in the choice of men to fill the different employments. The certainty of protection corrupts discipline, destroys subordination, and renders inferior agents impertinent and disobedient to the orders which they receive. It is certainly possible, though perhaps not very easy, to preserve a due medium between Dutch severity and the too compliant urbanity of the French.

A. D. 1748. From the moment that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded, Dupleix conceived the design of advancing the interest of the French East-India company, by acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south of Asia. The feeble successors of Aureng-Zib, who had suffered the native governors of the different provinces to assume the authority of independent princes, encouraged by their weakness the daring project of this aspiring adventurer. The French troops which had been assembled during the late war to protect Pondicherry from the hostile attacks of the British, were now engaged in the various services of the different princes of India: their

superior arms and discipline triumphed, and the viceroy of Deccan, whose authority they had established over an immense tract of country, rewarded the intrepidity of his protectors by the most liberal concessions.

The progress of the French had awakened the jealousy of the English East-India-company. The attempts of M. Dupleix to impose a nabob or governor on Arcot, excited the English to arms. As the allies of the contending princes of India, the rival nations opposed each other with equal skill and courage, and several battles were fought with various success; till at length the tide of war was determined by the appearance of colonel Clive, who had gone out in the service of the East-India company as a writer, but who speedily exchanged the pen for the sword, and rendered his name illustrious by a series of rapid and successive victories. With a small force he occupied Arcot, repelled a numerous army of French and Indians who threatened to overwhelm him, and triumphed over the hosts that had lately forced him to defend himself in a state of siege.

M. Dupleix was soon after recalled, and a cessation of arms agreed upon by the hostile powers; but while Lewis revolved in his mind the means of restoring in India the ascendancy of his subjects, his ambitious hopes were flattered by the insidious and hostile enterprises of his governors in North America. A. D. 1750.

The war which in Asia had scarcely been suspended by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was revived with an increase of fury, and with the most disastrous consequences to France. Her settlement of Chandernagore A. D. 1757.

on the banks of the Ganges, was taken by admiral Watson and colonel Clive: Lally was compelled to retire from a fruitless attempt against the walls of Madras; and he was afterward defeated in three successive engagements, and reduced to seek shelter within the fortifications of Pondicherry: that settlement, the last of any consequence that remained to the French on the coast of Coromandel, was invested by the English; when, after a gallant defence, Lally was obliged by famine to surrender, having before rejected terms of capitulation, which had been offered to him by the conquerors.

A. D. 1778. In the course of the contest between Great Britain and the American colonies, France attached herself earnestly to the latter, in the vain hope of subduing the spirit of her rival. However unfortunately that war might terminate with regard to Britain, yet the house of Bourbon attained in the course of it neither glory nor any addition to her dominions. In the East-Indies, the settlements of France were fatally exposed to the enterprises of her enemies: these in the course of the last war had been totally subdued, and though restored on peace, were by the conditions of it left in a state of weakness and degradation. Before any public declaration of war, the English East-India company, aware of the disposition of the court of Versailles to vindicate the independence of America, dispatched orders to their governors to anticipate all danger in that quarter by immediately attacking the settlements of the French. Though the preparations of the government of Madras could not escape the notice of the governor of Pondicherry, who was commandant

of all the French settlements in the Indies, yet, destitute of resources, he could only aspire to the glory of a gallant defence.

The fortifications of Pondicherry had in some degree emerged from the ruins in which they had been left at the conclusion of the last war: but they were still feeble and incomplete; and the gallantry of the governor, and resolution of the garrison, alone supplied the numerous deficiencies to which they were exposed. For a month they nobly sustained the attacks of the besiegers, and protracted the hour of submission; but in that time they lost, in killed and wounded, a fourth part of their number, and the rest were exhausted with incessant fatigue. At length they submitted and obtained an honourable capitulation; and the regiment of Pondicherry, in compliment to M. de Bellecombe the governor, and at his particular request, were allowed to keep their colours: the European part of the garrison were to be transported back to France, and the *seapoys*, or black troops, were to be disbanded in the country.

The victors at the same time swept away the different factories of the French in Bengal, and on the coast of Coromandel; and the English flag was erected on the walls of Chandernagore, Geman, Carical, and Masulipatam. The fort of Mahe, in the dominions of Hyder Ally and protected by the name of that prince, and the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, strong by the number of their inhabitants and the advantages of their situation, alone defied the storm.

While France was stripped of her settlements in the East, the attention of her people at home was in a great measure occupied in restoring the

memory of a man to whose misconduct the loss of those very settlements in the course of last war had been imputed, and who had fallen a victim to the public indignation. Count Lally, who from the original station of an adventurer had raised himself by his valour and enterprising genius to the command of the French forces in India, after the reduction of Pondicherry by general Coote, had returned to France, and was there pursued by the accusations of the governor and the superior council of that settlement. To his violence, extortion, and oppression, they attributed that ruin in which they had been involved; and his temper unhappily furnished but too much advantage to the enmity of his accusers. The parliament was authorised by the late king to proceed against him; and their report was fatal to that brave but imprudent officer. He was declared convicted of having betrayed the interests of the kings and the East-India company; and of having oppressed, with universal rapacity, every description of persons who had sought refuge or protection within the walls of Pondicherry. He was stripped of his cross, the honorary reward of his former services; and after having received fourteen wounds in advancing the glory, and interests of France, was condemned to fall by the hands of the executioner. He heard his sentence with the indignation of injured innocence, and poured forth the most violent imprecations against the malice of his accusers, and the sanguinary partiality of his judges; but in the last hour of his life, he resumed his accustomed firmness, ascended the scaffold tranquilly, and submitted to the fatal stroke without uttering a single word.

The sentence however which terminated his life could only for a time obscure his honour, and detract from his well-earned reputation; and his natural son, celebrated by the title of count Lally-Tolendal, rose to vindicate the memory and justify the fame of his father. Devoted to this pious care, renouncing the frivolous amusements of youth, and endowed with every talent of nature and art, he applied himself to the study of the several criminal codes of Europe; he even found access to the throne, and Lewis XV. who had been inexorable to the father, suffered himself to be moved by the virtues and filial affection of the son. The monarch extended to him the royal favour, and honoured him with his particular esteem; and on the death of that prince, count Tolendal desisted not from his unwearied assiduities: his constancy and importunities at length triumphed over the power of his opponents, the voice of justice was heard, and his labours were crowned with complete success, by the restoration of the memory of count Lally, and the disgrace of his accusers. Of this great man, the celebrated Voltaire used to say, "That count Lally was a man on whom every one had a right to lay his hands except the executioner."

The war was again resumed with increased ardour in the East, and the coasts of Coromandel were stained with the blood of contending parties. From the Cape of Good Hope, admiral Suffrein had proceeded with favourable winds to the island of Mauritius, and there resigned the command to his senior officer count d'Orves. The French fleet, thus increased, sailed for the coast of Coromandel; but A. D. 1782.

before it arrived at the place of its destination, count d'Orves expired, by which the command devolved on Suffrein, whose skill and courage rank him with the most celebrated naval characters of the age.

On his passage he added the Hanibal, an English man-of-war which he captured, to his fleet; and with this augmentation of strength, he swept the seas of Coromandel, and entered the Madras roads in hopes of surprising the English admiral sir Edward Hughes, who lay there with only six ships of the line. This force he considered himself capable of easily overwhelming; the capture of the numerous trading ships and transports in the road must have attended the destruction of the fleet; and during the terror spread by such unexpected calamity through the town of Madras, the French forces, joined by Hyder Ally's numerous army, would have carried on their attacks against it by land, while the victorious squadron should assail it by sea.

From this flattering illusion, which promised to determine the fate of the war at a single blow, M. Suffrein was awakened to a disappointment as mortifying as it was unforeseen. A reinforcement joined the English fleet, and a battle ensued, attended with great slaughter on both sides, nor did it cease till the vessels of each were so much disabled as to be glad to seek refuge in friendly ports. The English retired to Trincomale, and the French proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch harbour in the island of Ceylon, and about twenty leagues to the southward of that port.

Hostilities continued in India between the French and English, till an advanced period of

the year 1783, and long after tranquillity had been restored to the other parts of the world. The siege of the strong fortress of Cuddalore, the principal depôt of arms belonging to the French, now engaged the general attention. It was strongly fortified, and garrisoned by a numerous body of the best troops of France, as well as a considerable number of Tippoo's choicest forces. The attack therefore proved so difficult, that though the English displayed the utmost valour and military skill, they had not been able to reduce the place, when the news arrived of a general pacification having taken place in Europe. In this siege a remarkable instance occurred of a corps of seapoy grenadiers encountering and overcoming the French troops opposed to them with fixed bayonets. For this singular proof of valour, they not only received the highest applause at the time, but provision was made for themselves and their families by the presidencies to which they belonged.

At this period the English possessed only three places of importance in the kingdom of Canara. These were Mangalore, Onore, and Corwa. The siege of all these was undertaken at once. Mangalore, the principal fort, was defended by a numerous garrison under major Campbell. Tippoo, who, as well as his father Hyder, is spoken of at large in another part of this volume, sat down before it on the 19th of May, and the attack and defence were both conducted with the greatest spirit and activity. Notwithstanding, however, the utmost efforts of the besiegers, and that the garrison were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, they held out in spite of every difficulty, until the ge-

neral peace was concluded; by the terms of which the place was afterwards delivered up. In other parts nothing more happened than an indecisive engagement between M. Suffrein and admiral Hughes, so that the British empire in Bengal was for that time fully established.

CHAPTER XI.

The History of the Establishment of a Company trading to the East-Indies from Ostend.

OSTEND, on the borders of the Netherlands and Flanders, possessing a good port, is admirably well situated for commerce, which is perhaps the reason why it has none, or but little. All European nations have endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of its trade, through a dread that it might injure their own. In 1598, when the king of Spain resigned the ten provinces which had remained faithful to him, to the archduke Albert, he made it an express condition that the Flemings should not, under any pretence whatever, carry on trade either in the East or West Indies. This exclusive condition, which was introduced merely for the benefit of the Spaniards, was insisted on by the Dutch, who threw off the Spanish yoke; or it has been held out by them to conceal their true motives, thirst of gain, avarice, and jealousy, which excited them to oppose the commerce of Ostend.

In less than a fortnight, the Dutch East-India company presented two memorials to the States-general; in which they scarcely observed any ceremony, but plainly intimated, that as the establishment of this new company was in direct violation of treaties, so they ought to be left at liberty to act as if those treaties no longer subsisted, and do themselves that justice by arms which, it became every day more apparent,

could not be obtained by any other means. The States, however, were by no means inclined to quarrel with his Imperial majesty, if such a rupture could possibly be avoided. They therefore still continued their applications at the court of Vienna, in conjunction with Great Britain, to obtain the revocation of the authority by which the new company acted, or at least a suspension of it; and, in the mean time, they made such laws at home in favour of their own India company, as they thought requisite to prevent the subjects of Holland from having any concern either in the capital of the company established in the Austrian Netherlands, or in the management of the affairs of that company in India: on the other hand, the agents of the Dutch company in the East, though they did not proceed to direct acts of violence, took such methods in that part of the world where their power was so great and extensive, as gave this society infinite trouble, by obstructing their trade, and rendering it precarious and uncertain; in which they were so well seconded by the English, that nothing but the activity and abilities of the conductors of its affairs, and the finding their situation desperate if they did not succeed, could have kept it on foot against the force of the inconveniences and difficulties which it every day experienced.

Not only did Great Britain and Holland exert themselves against this new establishment, but France began to take the alarm at a scheme which threatened destruction to that institution of the same kind which she was endeavouring to erect; and the subjects of that kingdom were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to inter-

est themselves in any manner whatever, in the capital of the Ostend company. Philip V. of Spain seemed at first equally alarmed, and equally decided against this company; but in a very short time he saw the matter in a different light, or at least he acted by different motives, and entered into a treaty of strict alliance with the emperor, under whose protection the Ostend company was established and maintained.

In answer to all the claims and pretensions made by the hostile parties, the association replied in a thousand different ways, in defence of that privilege to which they were entitled by the laws of nature: and when they were persecuted as a corporate body, they sent out private ships with *lettres de mer*, sometimes in the name of one power and sometimes in that of another. They changed the places which their vessels touched at, the routes they pursued, and the ports they frequented. From Hamburgh, on the coast of Germany, they removed to Sienna, and Trieste, on the Adriatic, and they had hopes of being protected at Leghorn. At length, however, the emperor seemed desirous and anxious to withdraw his support and protection from the infant establishment, which could not unassisted stand against the English, Dutch, the French, and the Spaniards. This company afterward made a figure in almost all the public manifestoes issued on account of the wars between the European states, for nearly a century: it was often employed by the house of Austria, by way of a threat, to procure the alliance of the maritime powers. Worn out, at length, with being the sport of policy, the merchants separated, and employed their capitals in other branches of

trade. The Ostend company now no longer exists; but should the interest of the European powers undergo any material change, it may possibly at a future time be revived.

It has indeed been thought, that if this company had been effectually established, the whole East-India trade would probably in less than a century have been confined to the Austrian Netherlands; and perhaps the greatest part of the trade of Europe must have followed it. These provinces are in themselves much finer than those which compose the Dutch republic, and better situated for trade. Their sales of East-India commodities would have brought prodigious sums of ready money into their country, and this event must have revived and restored those manufactures which formerly flourished there in greater perfection than in any other part of Europe; a revolution that would have secured to them all the commerce of Germany, and by degrees that of the North. In such circumstances, nothing could have hindered them from attempting and acquiring the fisheries; nor, by opening the ports of Trieste and Fiume on the Adriatic, from engrossing the Italian trade. These were undoubtedly the reasons that led the emperor to establish the company, and to struggle hard for the maintenance of it: and the Dutch, by a similar conviction, were induced to the line of conduct which they adopted on this subject. Hence the argument becomes exceedingly powerful, that the trade of the East-Indies is in itself the foundation of commerce and maritime power, at least, in the hands of those who know how to manage it; and this company, who were intrusted in these points by the Imperialists,

shewed themselves very capable, in every respect, during the few years of its existence.

The great mistake of the projectors, was in their not being sufficiently versed in the general system of affairs, and the conditions under which his Imperial majesty held the Low-countries. Their miscarriage taught some of them more wisdom; and being persuaded that the experiment which had already been made, had removed all suspicion that the scheme was an impracticable chimera, part of them removed to Copenhagen, in order to engraft it upon the old Danish company. Others again thought of applying to the Swedes, that nation having been for some years employed in retrieving their affairs, improving their lands, raising new manufactures, reviving their commerce, and restoring their naval power.

CHAPTER XII.

History of the Company established for carrying on a Commerce to the East-Indies from Sweden.

IT was, as we have seen, to the downfal of the Ostend company, that Sweden is in a great measure indebted for the small branch of oriental trade which it cultivates. The warlike spirit of that nation, their temperance, and the severity of their character, resisted for a long time the solicitations of commerce. Gustavus Adolphus encouraged his subjects to engage in these pursuits by letters of invitation in 1626. The celebrated Christina, his daughter, was desirous of forming establishments in Guinea, and in India; but they gave offence to the Dutch, who contrived to ruin them, and convert to their own use the establishments which that nation had formed. The arts of peace could not flourish under a race of warlike kings, the series of whom ended in Charles XII. His successor made his subjects comprehend that it was not essentially necessary to the glory and happiness of an empire that the whole nation should be soldiers; and this fortunate change in their ideas took place at the time when the Ostend company was suspended, or, to speak more properly, when it was dissolved.

A number of active and able men being then destitute of employment, and obliged to push their fortunes, the king of Sweden received them into his service. In the year 1731, more than

a century after the letters issued by Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish monarch established a company, the seat of which he fixed at Gottenburgh. The Dutch, as usual, exclaimed against this innovation; and besides some indirect acts of hostility, by refusing refreshments and other necessary assistance to the ships of Sweden, they even seized some of these vessels. The king acted with great firmness on this occasion, and caused satisfaction to be made for the injury. The conduct of this new company is so unassuming that it has never been led to attempt the usurpation of any thing from the Indians, or Europeans. Its agents, dispersed throughout the other factories as private merchants, provide the cargoes, which are never very considerable, and consequently not capable of exciting the jealousy of the other companies. The Swedes are tolerated at China, and have a factory at Canton; and their example proves that trade may be carried on in India, without oppressing the natives or invading their country. In that case, it might, perhaps, be less lucrative, but it would be more consistent with justice.

It may not be improper before taking leave entirely of Indian commerce, to observe, that prior to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, the natives of India traded with Europe by three different routes, which are still open. 1. From Bengal, or Mazulipatam, they went to Delhi, and then turning west to Cabul and Kandahar, proceeded to Khorasan, and the northern part of Persia, as far as the Caspian-sea; from which they continued their route to the Black-sea, and dispersed themselves through various maritime trading towns of the Levant, where their goods

were received by the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians. Those of the coast of Malabar, setting out from Goa, transported their merchandise by oxen over the large ridge of mountains called the Gauts, and proceeded by Aurengabad, and Tatta, to Kandahar, where they joined the merchants of Bengal. This journey, which was performed by land, took up a period of three years, including the return.

2. From Bengal they proceeded by sea to Surat. From that port, the grand emporium of India, they repaired to Bassora, at the bottom of the Persian Gulf. The merchandise, embarked in vessels in the Tigris, was carried to Bagdad, whence it was transported on camels through the desert to Aleppo, and here it was received by the Italian merchants, who distributed it through Europe. The time employed in going and returning was two years; half of the journey by land, and half by water.

3. From Bengal they sailed to Surat, and thence to the entrance of the Red-sea. The isthmus of Suez was the boundary of the Indian navigation, and there were two routes from that place for European commerce: the longest, through the desert to Aleppo, required forty days, with an escort; the shortest, from Suez to Cairo, also through a desert, employed eighteen days, and was exceedingly dangerous on account of the banditti by which it was infested. By way of security, the caravans hired safeguards, who engaged for a certain sum to protect them from being plundered, and this practice is still followed. The guards, being associated with the wandering Arabs, can make them retire whenever they appear. Europeans take

charge of the remainder of the journey to Alexandria, Rosetta, and the other maritime places of trade in the Levant. As this route requires only a year or a year and an half, it has always been and still is the most lucrative, when the caravan is not plundered, or obliged to pay the Arabs too extravagantly for protection.

It is here observable that the greater part of these journeys is performed through countries subject to the dominion of the Grand Signior. By protecting the passage, he might render it much more frequented, and procure immense benefit to his revenue; but the history of the Turks will shew that though greedy of gain, they are much better calculated to acquire it by violence than by political combinations.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE OTHMAN OR OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

IN the detail of causes which modify the character of nations, it will frequently be found necessary to trace back the pages of history, and pursue the chain of events through successive ages, presenting those striking events, the operations of which continue when their records have perished.

If the Ottoman empire is still vast and extensive; if it still attracts the fear or the admiration of its neighbours, and swells its subjects with vanity; these results are not surely to be attributed to the wisdom of its councils, or to the valour of its forces, as they now exist; but arise from the splendour of its former exploits, and the merited celebrity of its ancient character. It is true that these exploits were disgraced by perfidy and treachery, and stained by violence and rapine; and while their crimes exhibited an energy of pursuit, and a brilliancy in success, the claim of the Turks to national pre-eminence stood undisputed. But in the enervating lap of idleness and sloth, the ferocious conqueror has degenerated into a torpid barbarian, whose only marks of prowess are to be traced in the insolence of his demeanour, and the sullen affectation of his fancied dignity.

The Ottoman power and name originated in *Othman*, according to the Arabic pronunciation, or *Osman*, according to the Persian, who assum-

ed the title of Sultan, and established his empire at Prusa, in Bithynia: but in order to take a view of the progress of the Turks, it is requisite to trace their history still higher, and consider not only their origin, but that of the Saracen Caliphs whom they supplanted. A. D. 1300.

The vast extent of continent, which, spreading from the eastern extremities of Europe and the north of Africa, comprehends the greater part of Asia, has been the source of many populous nations, and the seat of extensive empires. In the early history of these countries, new irruptions and new conquerors quickly succeeded each other, and the power of founding an empire seems seldom to have been attended with the skill required for maintaining it. Some, however, among the numerous hordes which successively prevailed, arose to a great height, and established a more lasting name than others. The different branches of Tartars from the north, and the Arabians from the south, carried their arms over extensive regions, and founded great and permanent empires.

It will not be necessary here to follow the victorious prophet,* who by the fascination of his religion, as much as by the terror of his sword, subjected so many nations: it will be sufficient to observe, that his empire so founded, was within 200 years after his death extended by his successors over the north of Africa, and a great proportion of Asia; who had besides made great progress in the south of Europe, having overrun almost the whole of Spain, and

* See Vol. X.

entered Sicily, Italy, and France. The seat of their government was established at Bagdad, whence they issued the mandates of their spiritual despotism over this wide extent of territory; but as an empire so hastily raised, and so unconnected in its parts, was not easily held together, and as the Commander of the Faithful with the increase of power acquired also habits of luxury ill adapted to the art of governing, their power was soon destined to fall under the sword of more hardy competitors.

Such competitors were found in the Tartar nations, by whom they were surrounded. The most ancient records of this part of the world, describe the Scythian or Tartar tribes as uniformly the invaders of their less ferocious neighbours. Their name has been very generally applied to the inhabitants of those vast deserts and mountains spreading from China to the Danube, and who, whether of similar or different origin, have at various times poured out their swarms on all the neighbouring countries. The Turkmans, or Turks, were a tribe of these Tartars, whose original seat was beyond the Caspian-sea; whence, incited by the desire of plunder, they descended about the year 800, and seized upon Armenia, since called from them Turcomania.

At this time the Persian empire was ruled by governors who were nominally subject to the Saracen caliphs; but Mahmud, the Gaznevide, having greatly enlarged his empire, was invested by the caliph with the title of Sultan. On the succession of his son Massud to this dignity, a body of Turks under Tongrul Bek, either invited by the Persians as auxiliaries, or attacking them as invaders, obtained possession of the kingdom.

It is supposed to be about this time that the Turks embraced the religion of Mohammed; and the caliph having called them to his assistance against the rebellious emirs, constituted the victorious Tongrul *temporal lieutenant of the Commander of the Faithful.* A. D. 1055.

In the mean time new opponents were rising against the Turks, who, as yet scarcely settled in their new conquests, were obliged to yield them to fresh hordes of invaders. The more northern Tartars harassed them in their recently acquired Persian empire, and finally obliged them to relinquish it in pursuit of fresh conquests to the south. It was about the year 1200 that the Turks ceded the kingdom of Persia to the Tartars; but previously to this they had themselves extended their arms over the greater part of Asia Minor, whither they now retreated, and fixed the seat of their empire at Iconium in Cilicia. Here also they were pressed by the Tartars; and it was at this period that the European rage for the Crusades having a second time broken out, the Turks found themselves obliged to give up the whole of Palestine to the Christians. It was not long before they regained this country, by taking Jerusalem, when they put to the sword without distinction or mercy the whole of its inhabitants. A. D. 1229. A. D. 1234.

The government which the celebrated Saladin had established, was also overthrown about this time by the Mamelukes; and various other contests arising in the Turkish empire, it fell for a time into small independent sovereignties, and remained without a head until the rise of Othman, who assumed the name of sultan, and

from whom therefore our account of the Ottoman race properly begins.

Before, however, we proceed to an historical detail of the acts of the several sultans, it may be proper briefly to notice the causes of the former greatness of the Turks; which may be reduced to the following heads: 1. Their thirst of universal monarchy, by looking upon the whole world as their property; and in the propagation of their religion, never neglecting to seize on any advantage, as they were unrestrained by any scruples of injustice, or of breach of faith, oaths, or treaties: 2. Their perfect agreement in matters of religion and state: 3. Their personal courage in war: 4. Their devotion to the sovereign, and the obedience of inferiors to their superiors: 5. Their strict observance of discipline in war; their military education engrafting upon the whole people an early acquaintance with the use of arms: 6. Their great temperance, and consequent health and vigour of body: 7. The plunder of their enemies; the hopes of those who died in battle; and the road to honour being open to every soldier, who might aspire to the possibility of becoming grand-vizier, and even of being allied to his sovereign: 8. The severe and certain punishment inflicted upon disobedience, disloyalty, or cowardice: 9. The military genius of their sovereigns, who always personally commanded their armies: and 10. Their great resources for recruiting these armies; every Mohammedan thinking himself obliged, when called upon, to take the field.

Hence it is easy to account for the wide extent of their victories, and particularly when we recollect that their opponents were in general in-

ferior to them in all the qualifications of military excellence.

In those barbarous ages, when most of the Christian states, governed by courtiers, priests, or women, displayed scarcely any traces of intellectual energy; when their feudal governments, their ignorance of political economy, and their want of system in financial and military arrangements, rendered them individually weak and contemptible; and when extended views of general politics, of mutual alliances, and of a balance of power, being unknown, they could not be consolidated into one powerful confederacy; the Turks exhibited a superior brilliancy of character, and built up a mighty and extensive empire. Their civil and military institutions were far superior to those of their contemporaries; their temperament of mind and body, naturally ardent, was inflamed by the precepts of a sanguinary religion, which incited them to conquest, by the most flattering promises of sensual gratification; and they were led against enemies whom they despised, by chiefs of singular skill, bravery, and ambition. The Ottoman empire, governed by a succession of great men, from Othman I. to Mahmoud IV. with scarcely a single exception, thus obtained an eminent reputation, whilst it widely extended the limits of its territory.

At the same time it must be acknowledged, that their fame, however great as conquerors, has never entitled them to any other homage, and never ranked them among the benefactors or instructors of mankind. Intent upon victory, they have stopt at no means to prosecute their plan of universal dominion; violating every prin-

ciple of justice and national faith; attacking their neighbours without provocation, without claim, without even alleging a ground for such conduct; massacreing the vanquished without pity, or sparing their lives only to force them to a slavery the most degrading; and seizing on their wives and daughters, selling or dishonouring them, regardless of the domestic misery of the unhappy sufferers.

In other countries, particular reigns or epochas have been marked with actions as disgraceful; but such periods, or such reigns, were ever beheld by the great mass of the nations themselves, with the indignation they merited: here, on the contrary, is a system of wickedness and abomination transferred from the ancestors of a whole people to their posterity, to this very day, confirmed by their religion, and approved by those who call themselves the priests of God. Wherever the Turks have established their dominion, science and commerce, the comforts and the understandings of mankind, have alike decayed. Not only have they exemplified barbarism and intolerance in their own conduct, but they have extinguished the flame of genius and knowledge in others; breaking and defacing the monuments of ancient art with a kind of savage exultation, and proving themselves the real scourges of the human race.

The Ottomans are displeased with the name of Turks, which we generally give to them. They reject it as indicating uncivilised barbarians; whereas it has claims to their adoption in preference to any other, because it recals the remembrance of Turk, a descendant of Japhet, the father of all the nations or tribes that inhabit Tartary. The

branch of Ottomans, by retaining that name, might boast of being the most ancient and illustrious in the world.

Othman I., descended from the celebrated Jenghis Khan, by degrees, reduced under his subjection the petty sovereignties into which Karamania had fallen. He with seven other Turkish captains seized all the countries which had been in the possession of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor. When he first assumed the title of Sultan, he possessed the sovereignty of a small district, the capital of which was Kara-chisar. Here he established his government, and pursuing his conquests, took Prusa in Bithynia, and made it the seat of the Ottoman empire, or kingdom; for the sultans did not assume the title of emperor till after the taking of Constantinople. After a reign of twenty-seven years, which had been entirely spent in military expeditions, he died at the age of sixty-nine. He was succeeded by his son, A. D. 1300.

Orchan, who continued the conquests of his father in the Greek empire. He took Nicea or Nicomedia by surprise, made slaves of all its inhabitants, and removed his court thither. As his soldiers had hitherto received no pay, and were therefore dangerous on the score of mutiny, Orchan disbanded his troops, and composed his infantry of young men taken from the districts belonging to the Christians, whom he caused to be instructed in the Mohammedan religion; and his cavalry of country land-holders of the Turkish race, whose property enabled them to serve without pay. This prince was humane, and a friend to men of letters. He built at Prusa a beautiful mosque, and founded A. D. 1328.

an hospital and an academy worthy of royal munificence. His devotion and charity, however, did not prevent him from endeavouring to enlarge his dominions at the expence of the petty Mohammedan princes his neighbours. Cantacuzenus, one of these, could not shelter himself from his attacks but by giving the sultan one of his daughters in marriage. This alliance was highly advantageous to the Greeks, whom Orchan afterward frequently assisted against those enemies who assailed them. The piety and justice of this prince, are greatly extolled by Turkish historians. They say that he daily conversed with the learned, and would undertake nothing of moment without their advice, and that he was the first of their monarchs who founded schools and hospitals. To the Christians he was an unjust, inveterate, and cruel enemy. He died of grief for the loss of his second son, who was killed by a fall from an unruly horse.

Notwithstanding the good understanding that prevailed very frequently between the Greeks and the Turks, the latter lost no opportunity of taking from the former what they found convenient. Morad or Amurath I. the son and successor of Orchan, succeeded also to his father's projects of usurpation of the country, and extirpation of the religion of the Christians. He passed the straits of Gallipoli, and took Adrianople, which he made the seat of his empire, as most conveniently situated to extend his conquests over these people. It appears, by what happened to him in this city, that the Turkish emperor was not then more exempted than any other person from the forms of justice and the external

A. D. 1356.

A. D. 1362.

duties of religion. Amurath was summoned as a witness before the mufti, who to this quality united that of judge. As he was beginning to speak, the mufti stopped him: "Your testimony," said he, "can receive no credit." The prince looked at him with astonishment. "As sovereign," continued the minister of religion, "your word is sacred; but here it has no force. Justice does not admit the testimony of a man, who has not yet united himself to the body of Mohammedans in public prayer." Amurath was sensible of his fault, and in order to atone for it, built a mosque, together with several schools.

This prince instituted the celebrated body of soldiers called yeniskari, or janissaries, which afterwards became the strength of the Turkish army. He ordained, that every fifth slave of those taken from the enemy should belong to the emperor. As incursions into the territories of the neighbouring states, and particularly those of the Greeks, were then frequent, these captives soon formed a numerous body of young men, who were obliged to embrace the Mohammedan religion. The emperor sent this new army to a doctor celebrated by his miracles and prophecies, begging that in his prayers he would recommend these troops to the protection and favour of God. The saint, placing the sleeve of his robe upon one of their heads, said: "Let their name be *janissaries*;"—which signifies *new soldiers*;—"let spirit and courage be displayed in their countenances; may their hands be victorious, their swords sharp, and their lances always ready to strike the enemy. Wherever they go, may they return with the visage of health." Since that period they have retained

this name. Their cap has the shape of the doctor's sleeve. They form a body of forty thousand men the most formidable of all the Turkish troops.

Amurath took Servia, with its capital Nessa, and Apollonia near mount Athos. Having a quarrel with the sultan of Karamania, he subdued his country, but did not dethrone him, as he was his son-in-law; and thus laid the foundation of the extensive empire of the Ottomans in Asia.

The death of Amurath was accompanied with a very remarkable circumstance. He had just gained a victory over the Hungarians, the Wallachians, Albanians, Triballi, and other nations united. Congratulating himself on his good fortune in the field of battle, he said, "This success gives me more pleasure, as I dreamed last night that I had received a mortal wound from the hand of an enemy." On hearing these words, a Triballian, who had been lying among the wounded, and who was supposed to be dead, started up, plunged his poniard into the emperor's breast and killed him on the spot.—At the conclusion of this battle the monarch gave no quarter, and slaughtered an incredible number of Christians: and ever since this event all Christian ambassadors and their suite, admitted into the sultan's presence, are held by both their arms by two chamberlains during the whole time that they are in the audience chamber. He subdued a great part of Thrace, leaving to the Greek emperor little more than the city of Constantinople.

The Turks greatly extol Amurath as a pattern of justice, a prince of invincible fortitude, very regular in his devotions, and a lover of learning.

He is also praised for his remarkable abstinence and contempt of pomp, being never seen clothed in any thing but *sof*, a fine light cloth made of wool, which is chiefly worn by ecclesiastics, who are forbidden by their law the use of silk. The person who wears a garment of sof, is called a sofi: and hence Shah Ismael of Persia was called Sofi Ismael, he having been one of the religious order.

Bajazet I. though the eldest of the two sons of Amurath, stood in need of the suffrages of his nobility to enable him to mount the throne. His brother, who attempted to supplant him, was strangled, which is said to be the first instance of the sanguinary custom, afterward so frequent, of putting to death princes of the royal blood. This prince is celebrated by his victories, and by the most distressing misfortunes. Never was any warrior more speedy or more secret in his expeditions. He flew from Asia to Europe, and returned to Asia with inconceivable rapidity. The Turks, therefore, have given him the surname of Thunderbolt. In the first year of his reign he took Cratova, in Servia, which was given up on the express condition that the Christian inhabitants should depart with life and liberty; but he sent soldiers after them, to murder them all without mercy. He entered Bosnia, and brought away all the inhabitants whom he judged to be useful, and made slaves of them. He also crossed the Danube, and committed horrid cruelties in Wallachia. A. D. 1389.

Bajazet had defeated Stephen. The army of Moldavia was routed, and the prince being closely pursued, presented himself before the

gates of Nems, where he had left his mother with a strong garrison. This magnanimous female called out to him from the top of the walls: "Return! go and efface the shame of thy defeat. I had rather thou shouldst perish by the hand of an enemy, than have to reproach thyself with the infamy of being indebted for thy life to a woman." Stephen retired, struck with the reproaches of his mother; and meeting a trumpeter, commanded him to sound a charge. He was joined in an instant by twelve thousand Moldavians who had escaped the slaughter; the prince placing himself at their head, fell upon the enemy who were dispersed throughout the country, put them to flight in his turn, penetrated to the imperial tent, and compelled Bajazet to retreat, with a few followers, to Adrianople.

This city was at that time his capital; but he employed every method that force or stratagem could afford to procure one more important, and to establish his throne at Constantinople. He was master of the strait by means of his fleet, the first which the Turkish emperors had caused to be constructed. Bajazet conveyed in this fleet a large body of troops, and landed them under the walls of Constantinople. The city however was not assaulted, as Bajazet trusted that it would soon surrender on account of the division which prevailed between the reigning emperor and a competitor to the throne; but the former chose rather to resign the sceptre to his rival, than see it fall into the hands of the Turks. Bajazet was obliged to be satisfied with a tribute, but he shewed his pretensions to the city by requiring the establishment of a Mo-

hammedan tribunal, for trying the causes of such of his subjects as resided there.

He returned however and made a second attempt upon the place, in which he would, probably, have succeeded, had not the celebrated Timur Bec, or Tamerlane, come to its relief. The sultan provoked the attacks of this terrible Tartar prince, who at first seemed desirous only to accommodate some trifling differences, which had arisen in consequence of their vicinity. But Bajazet, jealous of the glory of this great conqueror, was inflamed with a desire of bringing their strength and prowess to an open trial. The Tartar accepted the challenge, and in the plains of Prusa proved completely victorious in one of the bloodiest battles that had ever been fought. It continued a whole day, and in it thousands on both sides fell by the sword: but, while displaying the utmost efforts of valour, Bajazet was defeated, and made prisoner. Two different accounts have been given of the manner in which he was treated by the conqueror. According to one, Tamerlane inclosed him in an iron cage, against the bars of which the haughty sultan beat out his own brains: but according to the other, which is more consistent with the character of Tamerlane, he was received and treated with a respect due to his high station. When he was brought prisoner to Tamerlane, he was kept some time standing at his tent door, while the Tartar was eagerly deciding a game of chess with his son Shah Rukh, the soldiers shouting for joy, "Here is Bajazet, general of the Turks, reduced under your power, and loaded with chains." At length Tamerlane leaving off his game, and looking stedfastly upon the prisoner,

exclaimed, "Is this he who ordered us to separate ourselves from our wives, if we did not make war upon him?" "Yes," replied the vanquished sultan. The conqueror then made him sit down, and consoled him, promising not to take away his life, nor to treat him with the same cruelty which others had experienced at his hands. The captive sultan, feeling confidence by Tamerlane's generosity, besought him to order search to be made for his sons Musa and Mustapha, who were with him in battle. These princes were accordingly sought for, but only Musa was found. Timur presented him with a vest, and then sent him to his father, for whom a royal pavilion was erected near that of the conqueror.

There are reckoned to have been twelve years of interregnum, during which the three sons of Bajazet governed each a separate part of the empire; but at length it was united under one. Solyman the eldest, who had escaped from the battle, collected some remains of the army, and maintained himself at a distance from Tamerlane. When informed of his father's death, he assumed the title of emperor. Timur invited him to an interview, with an intention, as it is supposed, of placing the crown on his head; but Solyman gave the deputies an ungracious reception. The conqueror then sent for Musa, Bajazet's second son; and putting the sceptre into his hands, addressed him as follows: "Receive the inheritance of thy father. A soul truly great knows how to conquer kingdoms and how to restore them. This is the only greatness to which I aspire." The Tartar then retired to his own dominions, and left the two

A. D. 1403.

rivals to contend for the empire which he despised. Solyman was brave, but immersed in pleasure; which induced several lords with their troops to espouse the party of his brother Musa, who was prudent, perhaps too much so for a nation who preferred in their princes military virtues to all others. A third son of Bajazet, Mohammed, remained in Amasia, whence he beheld in tranquillity the struggle of his two brothers. Solyman fell a prey to his debaucheries, and was killed, in a state of intoxication, while he was in a bath: though according to a very respectable historian, he met with his death in a different manner; for it is said by this author, that while going from Adrianople to Constantinople with only a few horse, they deserted him on the road, to join the party of Musa; so that entering alone into a small town, the inhabitants of which, from the richness of his dress, concluded that he was a prince, five young men ran to meet him with respectful salutations. Surprised at this reception, which he did not understand as a mode of respect, he shot two of them dead; upon which the other three, to revenge the loss of their brothers, shot him immediately, brought him to the ground, and cut off his head.

When Mohammed saw that he had only one rival to encounter, he applied to Manuel, the Greek emperor, and solicited his assistance, which he obtained: Musa was shortly after abandoned by his troops, and attempting to evade the pursuit of his enemies, he was killed in his flight; when Mohammed was proclaimed in his stead.

A. D. 1413. Mohammed, on ascending the throne, had an opportunity of displaying a noble character, the brightest features in which were gratitude and clemency. The prince of Karamania, whom the emperor had pardoned for his rebellion on receiving from him a sacred promise of future fidelity, again revolted, and was again overcome and taken prisoner. Being carried before Mohammed, this prince addressed him as follows: "Thy perfidious soul has taught thee to betray thy faith. I find in mine sentiments more magnanimous, and more agreeable to the majesty of my name. The honour of my crown will not permit me to return thee evil for evil. The punishment of so infamous a wretch would tarnish my glory." Mohammed not only pardoned him, but restored to him his states.

When Mohammed was established peaceably on his throne, Manuel sent an embassy of the ablest men of his court, to congratulate him, and remind him of his promises. These the sultan discharged with the most scrupulous fidelity, and sent back the ambassadors loaded with presents. At the same time, he said, "Tell the emperor, my father, that having been restored to my possessions by his assistance, and the blessing of God, I shall in future be as submissive to his will as a son ought to the will of a father; and that I shall never cease to have a grateful remembrance of his kindness: let him only command, whatever he desires, I shall execute with speed and attention."

We are told of a reply which he made to the ambassadors of Servia, Bulgaria, and other small states, which now form the country of Turkey in Europe. Having admitted them to

his table, he drunk their healths, and said, on taking leave, "Tell your masters that I offer them peace; that I accept the terms which they have proposed; and that I wish the God of peace may be an enemy to those by whom it shall be violated."

During this reign, a Turkish peasant signalised himself by preaching up a voluntary poverty, and a community of all things, except women. He wore a single garment, and went with his head and feet bare. His disciples pretended to be very fond of Christians, and even to believe in the same faith. Two of them were sent by him to an old Greek monk in Candia, who after that time celebrated the fame of the peasant, and pretended that he was in the same monastery with himself at Samos, and that he crossed the sea on foot every day to converse with him. The governor of Ionia, marching against the enthusiast, was defeated by the inhabitants of the mountain near which he resided, who assembled to the number of six thousand. In the same manner they had put to flight Itali Bec, governor of Lydia, and killed a great number of his men.

In consequence of this disturbance, Mohammed sent his son Amuruth or Morad, a lad only twelve years old, accompanied by his vizier Bajazet, who forcing the passage of the mountains with their troops, put all the inhabitants to the sword, till they came to the place which was guarded by men wearing each only one coat: here they met with a very formidable resistance; but after losing a great many men, the false prophet and his disciples were obliged to surrender, and were all put to death, not one of them sub-

mitting to recant their doctrines. The impostor himself, after enduring various torments, was nailed to a cross, and carried through the streets of Ephesus: those who were friendly to his cause believed he would come again; and some even affirmed he was not dead, and could not die. Bajazet led his army back through Asia and Lydia, where he slew all the Turkish monks that he met with, who made a profession of voluntary poverty.

Mohammed reigned nine years: his death was concealed forty days, to allow time for his son Amurath to return from Romelia, where he was carrying on the war. This measure the late emperor had himself directed, and at the same time named Manuel guardian to his other two sons, in order, if possible, to ensure the safety of their lives.

A. D. 1422. Morad, or Amurath II. being only eighteen years of age, Manuel was afraid lest advantage might be taken of his youth to induce him to issue some cruel orders against his brothers. In quality of guardian, he demanded his wards; but his request was refused, under pretence that it was not proper these young princes should be educated in the Christian religion. The emperor of Constantinople declared, that since his demand was refused, he would find means to provide another successor to Mohammed; he accordingly released Mustapha, the brother of Mohammed, who had been imprisoned during the whole of the last reign. A furious war broke out between the uncle and nephew. Mustapha, very different from his brother, violated his word with old Manuel, and refused to deliver up to him a place which he had

promised. The latter abandoned him; and then being incapable of resisting Amurath, he was taken prisoner, and by the command of his nephew he was hung up publicly, to perpetuate the opinion of his being an impostor, which had been the pretence for keeping him so long in prison.

As Manuel had foreseen, and against which he endeavoured to provide, the sultan freed himself from the oldest of his two brothers. Some of the lords, excited by impressions of pity, took up arms to save the second; but he also fell into the hands of his merciless brother, who caused him to be strangled, though then but six years of age.

He took Thessalonica, or Salonica, and put the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the sword, except those whom he reserved for hard labour, or the most abominable purposes. The cruelties he exercised in these places cannot be described, nor the horrid ravages which he committed in Hungary. He invaded and subdued Servia, destroying all before him. He entered into Transylvania, and ravaged the country and murdered the inhabitants, as far as he penetrated: he acted the same brutal part in Wallachia, burning the villages and towns; and inflicting on the Christians all kinds of tortures and cruelties in the most dreadful manner. A. D. 1431.

Amurath took Peloponnesus and the whole of Greece; he sacrificed six hundred prisoners to the manes of his father, desolated the country, destroyed every thing beautiful, pleasant, and grand, and repeated his accustomed barbarities. He greatly enlarged the Turkish dominions, augmented the body of A. D. 1445.

janissaries, and made them more formidable than they had been before. This cruel tyrant and invader of the Christian states, died of age and grief at his ill success against Scanderbec: he
A. D. 1459. was however more faithful in observing treaties than any of his predecessors, or even than his opponent the king of Hungary. This latter monarch, after having met with a signal defeat from Amurath, swore in the most solemn manner on the Evangelists to maintain a peace. The sultan, it is said, was anxious to obtain this oath, with a view of delivering himself from the cares of the throne, that he might enjoy his latter days in the bosom of tranquillity. He therefore resigned his crown to his son Mohammed, who was then scarcely of age.

Stephen, the king of Hungary, imagined that the abdication of Amurath would enable him to recover effectually, and with facility, all that he had lost. He formed a sort of crusade: Bohemians, Poles, Germans, Venetians, and French, all flocked to his standard. The Turks, apprehending that their young emperor would not be able to resist this torrent, pressed the father to resume the sceptre. He gained the famous battle of Varna, in which the king of Hungary was slain. Amurath caused the treaty which Stephen had violated, to be affixed to the point of a lance, with a paper containing imprecations against his breach of faith. After this exploit the sultan returned to his retirement, though he quitted it again to quell a revolt of the janissaries.

A. D. 1451. Mohammed II. the greatest warrior of all the Turkish sultans, had at the age of twenty-one twice mounted the throne, and twice descended with the submissive docility

of youth. Of several brothers whom he had, one only remained; the rest had fallen a sacrifice to disease. Mohammed freed himself from all uneasiness on his account, by putting him to death. His reign, which lasted thirty years, was a continued series of battles and victories, almost without a single reverse. He had, however, to contend with generals capable of suspending his progress, and of checking his ambition, had their forces been equal to their courage. Among these were the celebrated Huniades, king of Hungary; Matthias Corvinus his son; and above all Scanderbec, the hero of Epirotes, and even of the Turks, for they never speak of this warrior but with respect, and after his death they made relics of his bones, which they wore as a preservation against dangers.

We have seen that Amurath paved the way to Mohammed for the destruction of the Greek empire. It was almost confined to Constantinople, the whole environs of which were already covered with Turkish fortresses, as so many advanced posts destined to facilitate a siege. To these Mohammed added two castles on the Asiatic and European sides, which intercepted all commerce with the Mediterranean; and at length appeared under its walls with forty thousand men. With such land and naval forces, supported by a train of artillery superior to any ever before seen, and remarkable for the number and size of the pieces of which it was composed, it was impossible that his success should be doubtful. But however formidable this multitude might appear against a garrison of five or six thousand men, the victory was dearly purchased. Mohammed behaved at the capture of

the city in an equivocal manner, alternately cruel and merciful, sparing the lives of a few of the vanquished, and giving up others to the sword, who in his eyes ought not to have seemed more criminal: but there was no distinction of this sort; the ruin was indiscriminate, and not an individual was exempted from pillage.

Constantinople was taken the 29th of May, 1453. The account of this event is thus described: "The emperor was, happily for himself, killed in defending it. The barbarians entered the city, howling more horribly than the beasts of the forest with thirst of blood; they slew defenceless men, women, and children, by thousands, without the smallest regard to dignity or beauty, to age or youth, to sex or condition. All who fled to the church of St. Sophia, hoping that the sacredness of the place would inspire respect for those whom it inclosed, were slain, except a very few reserved for purposes worse than death; and the church was converted into a stable. Every common soldier had permission for three days, to massacre, to violate, and to pillage without restraint. Riches were at this time more dangerous than poverty, and beauty more to be dreaded by the possessor than deformity. A hundred thousand barbarians satiated their avarice, their savage cruelty, and their brutal lust. No tongue can describe the misery of the wretched inhabitants. During three tedious days and nights the air resounded with their cries. The sultan heard the melancholy sounds in his camp, but they served only to lull him to sleep. The dogs, spared by the merciless invaders, ran into the fields howling with compassion, or leaped into the sea.

"After three days, the few Christians, spared for the cruel purposes of the conquerors, were driven like beasts into the fields. The sultan entered the city; his horse was stopped sometimes by heaps of the slaughtered, and sometimes waded through pools of blood. He made in the holy temple of Sophia a sumptuous feast for his officers and grandees, and as he sate banquetting, he caused to be killed, for his diversion and that of his guests, great numbers of his prisoners of the first distinction for birth, eminence, and learning, among whom were many of the late emperor's relations; and these feasts he repeated daily till he had destroyed all the Grecian nobility, priests, and persons of celebrity, who had fallen into his hands, of both sexes and all ages. Many Venetian senators, Genoese nobles, and rich merchants, were among the prisoners murdered for his diversion while he was feasting, and to entertain his court."

Thus ended the Greek empire; and the seat of the Turkish was founded, which Christian princes have since thought it justice to defend from the attacks of other Christian princes, and from the struggles of the wretched remainder of an injured and unhappy people, ever since living in bondage. Unprovoked, the Turks attacked it, and never ceased till they had usurped the throne, as they had done those of so many other states and kingdoms, murdering millions in cold blood, and by tortures of the most unheard-of barbarity.

When the capital was taken, Mohammed turned his arms against what still remained of the Greek empire, in the isles and on the continent. He first subjected the Morea to tribute;

then conquered it; afterwards lost it by the efforts of the Venetians, and again subdued it entirely by means of the quarrels which he excited among its defenders. He took the two Phocas, made himself master of Chio and Lesbos, and had the honour of reducing Athens under his dominion, and of commanding in the country formerly subject to the laws of Lacedæmon.

It may be conceived what oceans of blood must have been shed to gratify the ambition of this emperor, to what misfortunes he exposed people whose submission to their sovereigns and laws he ought to have respected, and whose fidelity was always cruelly punished by this barbarian conqueror. Some qualities worthy of esteem are, however, ascribed to him. His bravery and skill in the art of war have no need of being extolled; he gave too many proofs of them. He was well versed in the Turkish sciences, and above all in astronomy. He spoke the Greek, Latin, Chaldean, and Persian languages; had a great fondness for history; and punished robbery and every species of injustice with severity, though himself the greatest of robbers and of all men the most unjust. In consequence of these faults, which conquerors dignify with the name of virtues, Mohammed paid no respect to the bonds of religion or the obligation of treaties when he found them in opposition to his interest, and he stained his sceptre with blood for the space of thirty years. He died, as it is supposed by poison, after having put to death above eight hundred thousand Christians of both sexes.

When Mohammed died, his eldest son Bajazet, whom he had named his successor, was in his government of Amasia; and was actually preparing for a journey to Mecca at the time when a messenger brought to him the intelligence of his father's death, and that he must take the reins of the empire. The chiefs of the state wrote to him, that if he came to assist them by his arms and advice, it would be more advantageous for religion and his country than if he employed his time in a pilgrimage; a work which might without danger be left to men of lower birth and of more leisure. A. D. 1480.

Bajazet, surprised at the message, was for a while in doubt what course to take. Piety called on him to perform his vow; and it seemed dangerous to leave the throne so long vacant. At length he determined for the pilgrimage, declaring that he would sooner renounce the empire of the universe, than be unfaithful to his vow; but, lest public affairs should suffer by his absence, his son Corcul might be acknowledged as sovereign until his return. Corcul was a prince of great mildness and modesty, and untainted by immoderate ambition; of which he gave the most satisfactory proofs at his father's return at the end of nine months. The devout emperor, not being certain in what manner he might be received, wrote to his son to retain the reins of government, and to the nobles to obey him. He only asked for himself permission to reside at Nicea, as a private individual. The grandees, who were perfectly satisfied with Corcul, presented themselves before him, to know his pleasure under such circumstances. As the

prince had governed so much to the satisfaction of all ranks, had he testified the smallest desire of retaining the chief power, it is certain that the crown might have remained on his head: but Corcul, with a kind of indignation, replied: "Do you doubt my fidelity to my father? your "artful discourse would induce me to believe so. "Are you ignorant that my father did not re- "sign his crown into my hands? He only charg- "ed me to command in his stead, until he "should return from a pilgrimage, undertaken "for the good of his soul and that of the state. "In accepting it, I pretended to no other merit "than that of obeying him. The empire is his, "let him resume it. I shall cheerfully give up "the sceptre. You will never observe in me any "other dispositions than those worthy of a son "and a subject."

A few days after, Corcul, hearing of his father's approach, passed the Bosphorus, and met him near Nicea, where he paid him the homage due to his rank: "This," said he, turning to his attendants, "is indeed my father "and lord, but he is also governor and emperor "of the Ottomans. I have hitherto been his "shadow: now the light is come, the shadow "vanishes: to him alone therefore pay obedience "and reverence."

This unexpected change of affairs seemed very unfavourable to Bajazet's brother Jem, who, on account of Corcul's youth, had great hopes of wresting from him the empire; but when Bajazet ascended the throne he considered his hopes as frustrated. He was, however, determined to make an attempt for this purpose; and a battle was fought, in which he was defeated. After

this, he wandered about from place to place, and at length found a ship bound for Italy, in which he embarked. On his arrival in that country he endeavoured to excite the Christian princes in his cause, who assured him they would seize the first favourable opportunity to endeavour to place him upon the throne.

One day Bajazet was speaking on this subject in the presence of an Italian captive, who had embraced the Mohammedan religion, and had been made berber-bashi, or chief-barber, a place of considerable importance at court. This man offered his services to dispatch the rebellious prince, which the emperor eagerly accepted. The barber followed Jem, contrived to get introduced into his household, and was appointed to the office of shaving him. In performing this operation on one occasion he cut his throat, but escaped before the murder was discovered; and for a considerable time the cruel act was imputed to the zeal of some fanatical Christians. The barber returning to Constantinople was rewarded with the office of chief-vizier: and the body of Jem was sent for by the emperor his brother, who caused it to be buried at Prusa, near the tomb of Amurath.

Jem united in his character prudence, magnanimity, fortitude, and wisdom. In these points he had no equal of his age, and he was likewise celebrated for his eloquence. When a fugitive among Christians, he was strictly observant of the Mohammedan rites, repeated his daily prayers according to the Turkish custom, and regularly read through the whole of the Koran every week.

Bajazet was not less warlike than devout.

After he assumed the imperial dignity, he subdued the Moldavians; made a conquest of Caramania; rendered several of the Asiatic princes tributary; had considerable success in Syria, which he attacked; reduced Croatia; occasioned great devastation in the Morea; landed a body of troops in the island of Rhodes; and paved the way for the conquest of Egypt, by depriving the Mamelukes who commanded there of the necessary succours which they derived from Circassia.

Exhausted, it is said, with fatigue and debauchery, Bajazet was desirous of placing the crown on the head of his eldest son Ahmed. Selim, the youngest, demanded the preference, and took up arms in support of his claim. He was, however, defeated; and Bajazet forbade the fugitives to be pursued, in hopes that his son would return to his duty. Being easy on this subject, he resumed the design of giving up the empire to Ahmed; but this young man, dreading the intrigues of his brother, obstinately refused to accept of the sovereignty; and the emperor, rather than abandon the sceptre to his rebellious son, resolved to sustain the weight of it as long as he lived.

In this situation of affairs, Selim arrived in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, under the pretence of paying a visit to his father. This young prince was attended with only a few followers; but he well knew the number would be increased by the greater part of the nobility, who were decidedly in his interest, and above all by the janissaries, who were tired of a peace that had continued ten years. Selim at first seemed unwilling to oppose his father; but

finding on his approach that the whole court of the old emperor abandoned him in succession, and ranged themselves under his own banners, he sent to his father, with every mark of outward respect, declaring that he only wished to pay him the homage due to his situation. The aged monarch foresaw what would be the event of such a visit, and willingly resigned his crown into the hands of Selim. "I perceive too well," said he, "that my son has not come hither with an intention of seeing me only; but that he is determined at all events to be emperor. It is the "doom of Heaven; I have no doubt of it after "the dream which I had last night. I beheld "my crown placed on the head of Selim by the "hands of the soldiers; it would now be impious "in me not to obey the will of God. I submit "to the decrees of his providence; and since it "has so ordained, I resign my crown to Selim." He then caused his most valuable effects to be packed up; and, embracing his son, gave him his blessing and departed. The abdicated emperor proceeded slowly on, like one who quits a favourite spot with reluctance, anxiously casting some looks behind. Poison or grief put an end to his affliction before he had travelled fifteen leagues, and his body was brought back to Constantinople. Selim went to meet it in deep mourning, and re-entered the city with great funeral pomp.

Bajazet had reigned thirty-two years, and had given distinguished proofs of his attachment to the duties of religion, by preferring the mortifications of a pilgrimage to the splendour of a crown. And even to his death, he persevered in paying the strictest attention to the forms pre-

scribed by the Koran: agreeably to the literal interpretation of one of the precepts, he caused to be carefully collected and preserved the dust which adhered to his clothes; giving orders that after his death it should be formed into a brick, to be placed in his tomb, under his arm, that he might present himself before God, covered with the dust of the shoes of the Lord, and be thus preserved from the flames of hell. With these absurd prejudices, he possessed a love for the sciences:—he was fond of the arts, and left several monuments of his taste in architecture.

He had several sons, four of whom only are celebrated; Ahmed, Mohammed, Corcul, and Selim. Of these it is said the second was most worthy of the empire; and that the love of the people hastened his death. Ahmed and he were remarkably attached to one another; but Mohammed, having the curiosity to enquire into the conduct of his brother, went from Magnesia, which was his government, with two friends disguised in religious habits, to Amasia, where they were but meanly treated. This want of liberality so offended Mohammed, that at his return he wrote his brother a letter complaining of his avarice, which he never afterward forgave. Not long after, Mohammed, with some friends, disguised in sailor's clothes, went to Constantinople, of which adventure Bajazet being afterwards informed, he became so suspicious that at last he determined to have him taken off by poison. The order was no sooner given than executed: but after the bloody deed was perpetrated, the sultan repented of the act, and condemned the murderer to perpetual imprisonment.

This event happened but a short time before Selim seized upon the empire.

Selim ascended the throne in the forty-fifth year of his age: at first he was opposed by his brother Ahmed, whom he defeated and made prisoner, and caused to be strangled. Corcul met with the same fate. He condemned to death also five of his nephews, and a great many nobility, whom he imagined to be disaffected to his person. A. D. 1512.

Raised to the throne by the suffrages of the soldiers, who wished for nothing but war, Selim endeavoured to gratify their desires. He gave them frequent opportunities of trying their strength with the Persians, over whom he made great conquests; though he considered these advantages of principal importance as preparatory to the grand expedition which he was planning against Egypt. In this Bajazet had paved the way for him by the ravages he had made in Circassia, from which the Mamelukes derived their principal force. This war, even at the commencement, assumed a character of ferocious obstinacy which announced some great catastrophe; but it affected only the soldiers, the people wished to be considered as neutral in the quarrel. Confined in the chains of the Mamelukes, it was of no consequence to them whether they continued to struggle under their present masters, or exchanged their fetters for those of the Turks.

Causual Gauri, chief of the Mamelukes, waited for Selim near Aleppo in Syria. Victory, which was ready to follow Gauri's standard, was snatched from him by the desertion of two principal officers, in the middle of the combat.

Enraged at seeing himself defeated, he rushed among the thickest of the battalions; cut down all who opposed him; and running from rank to rank, spread destruction wherever he came, calling with a loud voice for Selim. Selim, however, did not appear; and Gauri imagining that he found him in every soldier who came within his reach, made a dreadful slaughter. Foaming with rage, and out of breath, he at length fell dead on the bodies of those he had slain; and, what must excite astonishment, without having received a single wound from so many swords lifted up against him. Tuman Bey, his successor, equally brave and still more unfortunate, had not the honour of dying like him in the field of glory, and with arms in his hand. Having lost a battle, he defended himself two days in Cairo; disputing every street with the utmost obstinacy, while torrents of blood were shed in the struggle. He at last saved himself by flight, but was taken at a small distance from the city, brought back, and hung up before one of the gates.

After the victory, Selim announced an intention of marching to Jerusalem. One of his officers, thinking there was still employment enough for them in Egypt, asked, in a tone which displeased the emperor, when he meant to proceed thither. To which Selim replied, "When it "shall please God; but it is my pleasure that "thou shalt remain here:" and he immediately ordered him to be beheaded. Selim stands foremost in the list of the destroyers of the human race. As he imagined that he could not ensure the quiet possession of Egypt but by the total extinction of the Mamelukes, rewards were promised to those who should discover any of them;

and the severest punishment was denounced against such as concealed them. When he thought he had them all assembled, he caused a superb throne to be erected for him on the banks of the Nile, without the gates of Cairo. These unhappy wretches being brought into his presence, he had them all murdered before his eyes, and their bodies thrown into the river. Their number is said to have amounted to thirty thousand, and thus he confirmed the propriety of the surname which he had acquired of "*The Ferocious.*" Nothing was seen about him but victims doomed to slaughter. All mankind appeared to him to be equally devoted to destruction.

Selim's pride was so swelled by his great victories, that having made his triumphant entrance into Constantinople, he, as if the fortune of war had been at his command, bound himself by an oath not to recede a step till he had subverted the empire of the Persians. This vow he made upon a presumption that he should afterwards easily subdue the Christian princes. But the want of money obliged him to defer the intended expedition. To divert the time, he resolved to visit the monuments of his ancestors at Adrianople; but in his journey he was seized with a fever, and on the next day there appeared an imposthume in his thigh, which in a short time put a period to his life, after a reign of nine years and eight months. He had the qualifications of a conqueror, with a head to conceive and an arm to execute great designs; he was fertile in resources, indefatigable where the safety of the state was concerned, well adapted to the management of affairs, and extremely quick in discovering hidden plots. He

A. D. 1519.

frequently walked in disguise about the public places, streets, and camps, as well by night as by day, and punished with the greatest severity whatever he found contrary to his laws or the common good. He had also innumerable spies, who mixed with all companies, and brought him an account of the most private and minute transactions; so much so, that it was a common saying in his time, "The emperor will know to-"morrow what passes in the chamber between "man and wife." At the last moment of his life, he displayed a justness of thought which was worthy of a much better mind. One of his pachas, named Piri, happening to visit him at a time when he was under the agonies of remorse, on account of some acts of torturing which he had committed upon the Persian merchants, advised him to employ the money in building an hospital for the poor. His reply was, "Would "you have me employ, through vain glory, in "works of charity, the property I have unjustly "taken from others? I never will. Let us en-"deavour rather to restore it to the lawful own-"ers;" which was done accordingly.

Selim alone, of so many Turkish emperors, shaved his beard after he ascended the throne; contrary to the received custom, as well as to the precepts of the Koran, by which the sons of the princes are enjoined to do it before, but not afterwards. The sultan being, on this occasion, gently and facetiously reproved one day by the mufti, answered, "that he did it to prevent his viziers from having any thing to lead him by."

A. D. 1520. Solyman, the son of Selim, had scarcely mounted the throne, before he conceived the design of extending his empire

as much towards Europe as his father had done in Asia. Having first freed himself from all apprehension on the side of Persia and Egypt, he directed his attempts against the Christians, and soon took Rhodes from the knights of St. John, who had held it for two hundred years. The sentiments of the Turks on this occasion may be learnt from his speeches to the Grand Master, after he had signed and sworn to observe the capitulation.

"Although," said he, "I might justly and "worthily infringe the articles I have prescribed "with such an enemy, from the just punish-"ment of whom neither faith nor oath ought to "restrain a conqueror; yet I have determined "to be gracious and liberal to thee, if thou "wilt, by well doings, amend thy life, and "I will give thee preferment in my service." The Grand Master in a noble speech answered, "that he preferred death;" which so astonished the emperor, that he promised to observe the articles of the capitulation. On this chief's departure from Rhodes, Solyman told him, "What "I have done towards thee was not through ha-"tred, but the desire of sovereignty. I stand in "no need of war for the sake of riches, but "for honour, fame, immortality, and the ex-"tension of my empire: for it is the property "of a sovereign, royally descended, to take "from others with a strong hand, and to "invade them, not from a covetous mind, but "from the honourable desire of rule and so-"vereignty; for whilst my neighbour standeth, "I count it just, by force of arms, to remove "him."

He then attacked Hungary, took Buda, and murdered the garrison which had capitulated. He entered Austria with fire and sword; the old men were slain, the young led into captivity, women ravished before the faces of their husbands, and in short every species of cruelty was inflicted upon all, without distinction or mercy. He laid siege to Vienna; where finding a desperate resistance he withdrew his troops, but previously massacred all his prisoners, men, women, and children. This siege cost him eighty thousand men. He made John king of Hungary tributary to him, entered again into Austria, and repeated his cruelties, killing at one time four thousand prisoners.

A. D. 1534. He took Bagdad, the whole of Assyria, and Mesopotamia, formerly separate kingdoms, but then belonging to Persia. He sent two hundred thousand men into Macedonia, to be transported into Italy; and actually landed a part of this army in Apulia, and took Castrum. Turning his forces, however, from Italy, against the Venetians, he besieged Corfu; but not succeeding, he carried away sixteen thousand young people of the island into perpetual slavery, and made other conquests on them during a long war. He returned to Buda, and converted Hungary into a Turkish province, making an alliance with the French to attack the emperor. He made a fruitless attempt on Malta; but was more successful at Goza, where he carried off upwards of six thousand young people into slavery. The Turks then attacked and took Tripoli, belonging to the order of Malta; but did not observe the capitulation, as they said, "No faith was to be kept with dogs."

Solyman at length extended his reputation as a warrior to both extremities of the world. At the time that he subdued Bagdad on the Tigris, faithful to his ally Francis I. he united on the ocean the Turkish crescent to the banners of France, made incursions into Persia, and threatened Germany with an invasion ; when he was carried off by death, after a reign of forty-one years, which ended in triumph, Zigeth, a town in Hungary to which he had laid siege, surrendering at the very moment when he expired.

Solyman, at the desire of his wife Roxalana, had his son Mustapha strangled in his presence, in order to secure the empire to her darling son Bajazet. He was, however, punished for this instance of injustice and cruelty, by the discord which arose between Bajazet and Selim, another son of Roxalana ; the former fell a victim to his father's displeasure, and Selim succeeded to the empire.

Before the time of Solyman, the Turks had no other laws than certain established customs never committed to writing. These Solyman, collected and formed into a code, which is still followed in the Ottoman empire, and he was thence styled the Legislator. And though he had acquired great celebrity by his Persian, Hungarian, and naval victories, yet by his reformation of the courts of justice, and his excellent laws by which the empire has been since governed, his fame was infinitely farther extended.

In order to conceal the death of Solyman until the arrival of Selim, who was in his government, the grand-vizier caused all his phy-

sicians to be put to death. In a few days the janissaries began to suspect what had happened; when, to dissipate their suspicions, the vizier caused the dead body, in the sultan's usual dress, to be brought into his tent, sitting upright in his litter, as if he had been ill of the gout. Solyman was declared a martyr, because he died while he was carrying on a war against the infidels; and a conqueror, because his troops, after his death, had taken two cities in his name.

A. D. 1566. As soon as Selim heard of his father's death, he left Magnesia for Constantinople, and was, by the care and attention of the vizier, almost the first person in that city who knew of his father's death. The first step which he took was to make a peace with Germany and Persia. He detached from the empire of Russia thirty thousand Tartars, with whom he peopled the Crimea; and he reduced to obedience Yemen, which had manifested some symptoms of revolt.

A. D. 1570. The Spanish Saracens, who had hitherto been ill treated under the dominion of the Christians, rose in arms against those who had tyrannised over them, whom they vanquished with great slaughter: but perceiving themselves too weak to withstand their power long, they sent embassadors to implore Selim's assistance. The sultan, whose thoughts were bent on the conquest of Cyprus, promised aid; but not till that island should be taken. He made immense preparations for this purpose: having reinforced his army with two hundred thousand men, he renewed the siege of Famagusta with more vigour than ever.

The senate of Venice, on the other hand, wrote to the citizens to hold out, promising them speedy relief. The Turks in the mean time began to sink mines in four several places; one of which blowing up a great part of the wall near the tower on the haven, they presently mounted the breach, and began a most furious battle, in which they lost four thousand men and fourteen stand of colours, but of the besieged not more than one hundred were slain. The assailants, to whom the loss of thousands was not considered as an object, renewed their attacks incessantly, till at length the garrison was reduced to three hundred effective men. The powder was also consumed, and other wants increased so fast that the citizens prevailed on the governor to capitulate.

Accordingly the place was delivered up, on condition that the inhabitants should enjoy their lives, liberty, and property, with the free exercise of their religion; and that the whole of the garrison might march out with their baggage, and be safely conducted to Candia. Upon this, Bragadino, the governor of the city, attended by some persons of quality, having obtained leave to wait upon the pacha in his camp, the perfidious general caused them all to be secured, and next day the brave Bragadino was brought out and exposed, with his ears cut off. He was afterwards tortured with the most exquisite cruelty, and made to endure the greatest indignities; among which, he was forced to act the part of a labourer in assisting to repair the ramparts. At last, he was flayed alive, his head was cut off, and his skin stuffed with straw, and hung at the yard-arm of a galley. The loss of Famagusta

was followed by that of the whole island of Cyprus.

The conquest of this island was highly celebrated by the Turks; but a famous victory which the Venetians gained over the Ottomans in the gulf of Lepanto, has been considered by the Christians as a compensation for that advantage. When the news of this great event was carried to Venice, it was celebrated with the utmost joy. All prisoners were set at liberty, and Justina's day, on which it was gained, was made a festival for ever; a great quantity of money also was coined, bearing the effigy of Justina, and an impression of the battle. But while Venice was filled with gladness, the deepest melancholy reigned at Constantinople. The emperor Selim, otherwise of an invincible mind, was so struck with this reverse of fortune, that for three days he neither ate nor drank, nor suffered any body to approach him, praying night and day that the God and protector of the Mohammedans would have compassion upon his people, and remove the dishonour brought upon them by this defeat. On the fourth day he took up the Koran, and accidentally opened the book at this passage: "In the name of God clement and merciful! I "grieve for the victory which the Europeans "obtained over the inhabitants of the earth; "gladness shall not be given them any more for "victory hereafter." Selim, admonished by this oracle that the overthrow of the fleet had not happened without the interposition of God, returned him thanks for his fatherly correction, and recovered his spirits. This calamity seemed to the sages of the country to have been

foretold by the fall of the wooden roof of the temple of Mecca, which Selim ordered to be rebuilt with brick, as a more durable emblem of the empire.

A Turkish nobleman, at that period, gave a very just idea of these two events. "The loss "of the fleet," said he, "is to Selim what the "loss of the beard is to a man who has been "shaved, and whose beard will grow again. "Whereas the loss of Cyprus is to the republic, "like the loss of an arm, which when amputated "can never be recovered." Selim, indeed, soon sent to sea another fleet, which assisted to drive the Spaniards from Africa, and to make his authority known and acknowledged at Tunis and Algiers.

This prince conducted very few military operations in person; but he has nevertheless been accounted brave. In some respects nature seems to have distinguished him from his predecessors by mildness. He lived in a familiar manner with his domestics; and was fond of decent raillery, and the conversation of the learned. He is praised for his liberality, clemency, and justice. No person could be more regular in his devotions, or more moderate, except in regard to wine, of which he was fond, and in which he freely indulged. After a reign of five years, he died in consequence of intemperance of this kind.

The enquirer after the Turkish history must no longer expect to find any of those flourishing events, which, while they excite interest, engage and fix the attention. This empire has, by a good writer, been compared to a river, which, having frightened, by its frequent inundations,

the inhabitants of the adjacent plains, obliges them to take the precaution of confining it with dykes to defend themselves from its ravages. In the same manner the neighbours of the Turks, incessantly harassed by them, especially in Europe, erected fortresses against their sudden incursions, and maintained large armies always in readiness to oppose their invasions. Hereafter the assaults, the battles, and the negociations, being almost always uniform, it will be only necessary to attend to facts which present some striking singularity, or which have been attended with important results. Thus the lives of many of the Turkish emperors, though abundant perhaps in warlike deeds and treaties, may be reduced to very few domestic events of much real consequence.

A. D. 1575. Such is that of Amurath III. though it lasted fifty-two years, of which twenty were spent on the throne. He was the eldest son of Selim, whose death was concealed, as usual, till the new sultan arrived. The janissaries, who had a custom during all intervals of this nature to plunder, and even massacre, their fellow-citizens, were now disappointed and murmured. Amurath was obliged to give large sums to appease them, and then by an atrocity which some ascribe rather to the policy of the times than to any natural inclination to cruelty, he caused his five brothers to be strangled in his presence; but it is said not without shedding many tears at the tragical spectacle. Though he was of a peaceable temper, he continued his father's wars, because he dreaded the idea of being thought to degenerate from the Ottoman princes, but he never went himself into the field.

To give employment to his untractable soldiery, he made war upon Russia, Poland, Germany, and Venice. He subdued Georgia, which he afterwards lost and recovered. He experienced both success and reverses in his operations against the Druses and Turcomans, as well as in those which he carried on in the Crimea, Wallachia, Croatia, and Transylvania. It was debated in the divan, whether the league with the Christians or that with the Persians should first be broken; for the Turks hold it lawful, when it is the interest of the empire, to break all oaths and treaties with those of a different faith from their own. It was determined to make war against Persia, the event of which was favourable to Amurath, and it was attended with the usual cruelties. From this period, the janissaries, having lost their submission, and, in great part, their discipline, began to kill their commanders, whenever they were dissatisfied with them. A. D. 1575.

This prince reigned twenty years, and left behind him as many sons, of whom nineteen were strangled by the eldest, his successor. Amurath is described as of a quiet disposition, a lover of justice, and very zealous in his religion. He reformed that sort of intemperance which had become fashionable in his father's reign, by very severe punishments against drunkenness. It is said that the death of Amurath was attended with such a storm that many thought the end of the world was at hand.

Mohammed III. having thus secured to himself the throne by the slaughter of his brothers, which he effected at a feast which he gave to them, thought it necessary al- A. D. 1596.

so to take away the life of all the late sovereign's wives and concubines by whom it was possible that there should be any posthumous progeny. A tent was then set up before the temple of Sancta Sophia, in which was placed the body of Amurath, with those of his murdered sons beside him; and this shocking ceremony occasioned a serious tumult of the janissaries, which might have cost the new emperor and all his court their lives, had it not been appeased by the prudence and credit of the prime-vizier. Mohammed carried on his wars against Germany by his pachas; but not being successful, he went himself to Buda with two hundred thousand men, and having taken Agria, returned to Constantinople. Hostilities were prosecuted with the greatest fury; and when the Turks took Albaregalis, the Christians were, by the terms of the capitulation, to march out in safety with their arms; but their merciless and treacherous conquerors put them all to death, to the number of many thousands.

The insolence of the janissaries now greatly increased, and they were perpetually revolting and fighting with the other soldiers. The pachas, in many provinces, also rebelled; and the sultan, through fear, made peace with them, and confirmed them in their offices.

No less cruel to his own offspring than he had been to that of his father, Mohammed sacrificed his eldest son, a prince of estimable qualities, on very slight grounds of suspicion. Immersed in the pleasures of the seraglio, he bestowed no other attention on public affairs than he was absolutely compelled to. This indifference was treated with great contempt by his subjects,

who neither loved nor feared him. He died unregretted in the flower of his age, after a reign of nine years. He had four sons, and three daughters married to three of his pachas. His eldest son he had caused to be strangled; the second died young; the fourth, Mustapha, was strictly confined to the palace: the third, Ahmed, ascended the throne when he was scarcely fifteen years old; and this A. D. 1605. is said to be the first instance in which the reins of the Turkish government were given to a minor. The first years of his reign demonstrated that the sceptre was not unworthily entrusted to him. He began by removing the sultana his grandmother, whose ambition and intriguing spirit had been the cause of much uneasiness to his father. Great firmness was necessary to re-establish good order through every part of his administration, which the weakness of Mohammed had suffered to be interrupted; but the janissaries becoming every day more mutinous, involved him in cares from which he could not free himself except by sending them to Asia. Under his reign, those fires which are now so common began in Constantinople. They rarely or never break out but when the people are discontented, and this is the method by which they make their remonstrances known. Under the same reign we find the first instance of that submission with which the nobles resign themselves to the fatal bow-string. The grand-vizier, to whom the monarch owed many obligations, put an end to his own life in this manner. Though not of a cruel disposition, many murders were committed in his seraglio through jealousy and brutality. In it he maintained a thousand fe-

males. He kept in pay forty thousand men for the purposes of hawking; and, to excel all preceding instances of extravagance, he encrusted the walls of the superb mosque, built in imitation of St. Sophia, with two hundred plates of gold, having inscribed on them the name of the prophet, and sentences of the Koran set round with diamonds, which raised the value of each plate to at least fifty thousand crowns. Ahmed was succeeded by his brother

A. D. 1617. Mustapha, who had been preserved with such secrecy, that it was scarcely known whether he was alive or not. During his brother's reign, the council had determined that he should be preserved, (as Ahmed was but fifteen years old and there were only two heirs to the throne,) but should be kept in close confinement. Mustapha was therefore taken from a prison to be proclaimed sultan. He was uncommonly cruel, and offered many indignities to the Christian ambassadors. At the time when Ahmed had children of his own, it was once determined to put Mustapha to death: the resolution was passed in the divan; but the emperor was diverted from the execution of it by some omens which he imagined were relative to this subject.

Whenever an emperor ascended the throne, it was usual to put to death his brothers and nephews; but when he had children grown up, he entrusted them with governments, and the command of armies: this cruel custom had now ceased. When the father died, the vizier, as we have seen, kept his death as secret as possible till the new sultan arrived, who generally contrived to seize his brothers and put them to death;

sometimes, however, these contrived to escape, but they were generally retaken, and committed to the hands of the executioner. It is for this reason that the sultan always goes to some mosque in the city to public prayers every Friday, or shews himself in public, for otherwise the people would consider him dead, and would excite a rebellion.

Mustapha, by his cruelties, became so odious that the grand-vizier, who was absent on an expedition against the Persians, returned with his army, deposed him before he had completed a year of his reign, sent him to prison in the castle of the Seven Towers, and placed his nephew Othman on the throne.

Othman, contrary to the advice of his ministers, married, without any pomp, the grand-child of a sultana, who had been espoused to a pacha; his ancestors of late years not usually taking wives, especially of a Turkish race, on account of their relations. A. D. 1618.

The sultan, discontented with his janissaries, meditated revenge against them. They had, contrary to their institution, married, and entered into trades; their children were also janissaries, a privilege conceded to them in a former reign, and they were more pleased to stay at home than to face the dangers of a foreign campaign. His vizier, however, promised to provide him with a new soldiery of the Cards, who inhabit the mountains between Smyrna and Mount Lebanon, forty thousand of whom were to be enrolled as his body-guards; adding, that the pachas of the provinces should train up to arms a certain number of the inhabitants, to be ready to serve in foreign wars, and to constitute

a larger army than any of his predecessors, and enable him to make greater conquests at far less expence.

This emperor conceived the project of transferring the throne into Asia, with the hope of freeing himself from the incessant troubles given him by the janissaries; but they discovered his design, massacred the grand-vizier, whom they believed to be the author of the measure, and imprisoned the emperor, reinstating Mustapha on the throne. The first measure of those who now governed in the name of the latter prince, was the murder of Othman. The uncle, however, derived very little benefit from this event. The same weakness and incapacity which had before deprived him of his throne, drove him from it again under the most humiliating circumstances. He was treated as an ideot, led about upon an ass exposed to the derision and insults of the populace, and then carried back to prison, where he was strangled by the orders of his successors.

A. D. 1620. During an expedition of the Turks into Persia, it is said by Turkish historians that there appeared in the heavens, over Constantinople, a figure of a crooked sword, which extended from east to west, and for a whole month shone with great brightness after sunset. The astrologers declared it to be an omen of victory and an increase of empire to the Ottomans. In the course of the following year, there happened at Constantinople so intense a frost, that the inhabitants of that city walked over the Bosphorus. This the astrologers interpreted as a fatal omen; but Othman, in contempt of their prediction, undertook in the

ensuing summer an expedition against the Poles; in which the Turks lost eighty thousand men by the sword, cold, and famine, besides one hundred thousand horses; and the Poles twenty thousand.

Amurath IV. brother to the unfortunate Othman, experienced from the janissaries the same insults which had been offered to his brother; but by intrepidity and courage he repressed their turbulence, and freed himself from every kind of rebellion. No emperor was ever more absolute, none was ever so much dreaded, as none was ever so formidable. It is said that during the seventeen years of his reign, he caused fourteen thousand men to be destroyed. His amusement was to run about the streets in the night with a sabre in his hand, and to cut down all whom he met. Sometimes he discharged arrows at passengers from the upper windows of his palace. The prince was an expert marksman, an excellent rider, and intrepidly brave. In the field he gave his soldiers an example of frugality, and of abstinence from every kind of luxury. He used only coarse food, had no other bed than a carpet, and slept with his head on his saddle. He is celebrated on account of extraordinary talents for public business, and his acute, penetrating, and solid judgment. A. D. 1621.

He stood in need of these qualities, to counteract the effects of his numerous faults, which he did not attempt to conceal; and above all that of drunkenness, a vice very odious to the Mohammedans. He permitted wine to be publicly sold, because he was fond of it himself; but he forbade the smoking of tobacco, which he detested.

He paid so little regard to the laws of nations, that he caused a French interpreter to be impaled, put the ambassador into prison, and committed other violences. Soon afterwards he made peace with Persia and Germany. In his reign a singular fight was maintained between two English merchant-ships loaded with corn, against the whole fleet of the captain-pacha's galleys. The merchantmen killed 1,200 slaves, and a great number of Turks, with the captain himself; and when they could maintain the contest no longer, they blew themselves up. They sunk three galleys, and forced the fleet into port to repair. This heroic action is remembered and talked of in Turkey to this day.

A. D. 1631.

When Amurath was advancing in years, he took the government entirely into his own hands, and determined to make himself feared. He was severe with his officers and soldiers, declaring that he expected implicit obedience. The people revolted at some taxes, but he cut off the heads of fifty of their ringleaders. He hanged a cadi; and then went to Prusa, dispatched a boat to Constantinople to bring the mufti and his son to him, whom he immediately strangled. This tyranny struck terror through the whole empire, for former emperors very rarely put to death the muftis in this manner. The particular death allotted for this class of people is, by braying them in a mortar used only for that purpose; but it is seldom practised. He hanged a Venetian merchant for having a gallery on the top of his house, because he might be supposed to look from it into the gardens of the seraglio. But it would be almost an endless

task to enumerate the cruelties of this tyrant. In the seventeenth year of his reign, death, the consequence of his debaucheries, put an end to one of the most ferocious despots that ever disgraced humanity.

Tircaki, an intrepid smoker of tobacco, terrified by the threats of Amurath against that practice, had formed a cave in the earth to which he could retire and enjoy his favourite amusement at his ease. The emperor being informed of it by one of his spies, came upon him unexpectedly; and Tircaki had nearly paid dear for his pleasure, when he exclaimed: "Get thee "hence! thy edict was made for the upper regi- "ons, and does not extend to those below the "earth." This ready wit saved his life. Amurath was fond of low amusements, which reduced him to a level with the people. He had a strange desire of being the last of the Ottoman race, and for that purpose he intended to put to death his brother Ibrahim; but he gave his orders to this effect too late.

A traveller who was at Constantinople at the death of this sultan, asserts that he was not ill more than eleven days, and that on the eighth he threatened his physicians with death unless they cured him; at the same time he appeared so sensible that his latter end was approaching, that he gave orders about paying his debts, and other business which he wished to have dispatched previously to his decease. The great officers of the court, believing that Ibrahim had been strangled, crowded about their sovereign's sick chamber, each hoping to be appointed his successor. At the moment they were ambitious of wearing the crown which must in a short time fall from the

head of the sovereign, he was devising means to take away their lives; but was too much reduced to get his orders obeyed. He died in the arms of his favourite, uttering with his last breath, "Mustapha, I am dying!"

A. D 1639. When the nobles repaired to the prison in which Ibrahim had languished four years in a state between life and death, he barricadoed his door, and refused to allow them to enter till they brought the dead body of his brother; the sight of which inspiring him with courage, he admitted them, and they placed him on the throne. This prince, who was deformed and weak in his body, had his natural imbecility augmented by the long confinement which he had undergone. Restored thus unexpectedly to liberty and empire, he was intoxicated by the new pleasures which they presented, and resigning the administration of government to the former ministers, he devoted himself entirely to the luxuries of the haram; and with regard to sensual excesses in general, he is said to have exceeded every thing that is related even of Sardanapalus and Heliogabalus. All those who were desirous of obtaining his favour, whether ministers or generals, vied with each other to procure the means of gratifying the appetites of the emperor. A woman of intrigue, by his express orders, was continually employed to find him the most distinguished beauties. Unfortunately she bestowed such encomiums on the daughter of the mufti, that the sultan proposed to marry her. The mufti, fearing that the emperor's passion might be only transient, refused the proffered honour. Inflamed by the impetuosity of his desire, Ibrahim caused the

daughter to be seized, shut her up some days in the seraglio, and then sent her back to her father with contempt. This act of violence cost him his crown and his life. The mufti, in concert with other great men who were dissatisfied with the sultan's effeminacy, excited a revolt among the janissaries. Ibrahim, finding himself destitute of any means of resistance, consented to resign, and to be confined to his apartment provided his life was spared; the conditions were agreed to, but in a few days he was strangled, after a reign of ten years.

Ibrahim was the last of the three sons of Ahmed, who reigned in succession; and he himself left three sons who enjoyed the same dignity. Mohammed IV. was the eldest of these; his reign was long and prosperous, but after so many years passed in prosperity, and which ought to have established his power, he was forced to abdicate; and what is very singular in the history of Turkish affairs, he survived his deposition, without being troubled or molested in his apartment, which served as a prison. His exploits, which if detailed at length would fill a volume, are not so far distant from the present period as to be obscured by the veil of time. The famous siege of Candia, which subjected the ancient Crete to the dominion of the Crescent, makes a considerable figure in the page of history. At the beginning of the last century, fathers at Vienna were accustomed to relate to their children the battles which they had witnessed under the walls of that city, when Sobieski disappointed the hopes of the Mohammedans. The Turkish arms were, however, more successful against Buda, the capital of Hungary. A. D. 1649.

A misunderstanding, occasioned by the ascendancy which the grand-vizier had over his sovereign, prevailed among the chief officers of the empire. This minister had often abused the confidence of Mohammed; and, to conceal his incapacity, had even punished men who had a powerful claim to reward. Sinan Pacha, one of the officers destined for death to gratify the minister's vengeance, took advantage of the discontents created among the troops by some defeats; and knowing that there was no money in the treasury, instigated them to call for their pay, or the head of the vizier. This minister being alarmed, left the army privately, and communicated to his master the threats that were held out against him. With the demand of the head of the vizier the rebels began not to be contented, but insisted also upon the deposition of the sovereign. The vizier was given up to their fury, and Mohammed thought he should secure the attachment of Sinan by appointing him to the vizier's office.

The offer was accepted, but the pacha was scarcely invested with his new honours, before he became suspected by the soldiers of dangerous designs which he had not the art to conceal. He lost his credit with them, and their confidence was transferred to two others; who proceeding at once to the end in view, went at the head of a formidable band, and told the emperor without ceremony that he had been deposed, and exhorted him to resign the sceptre without resistance into the hands of his brother Solyman.

Mohammed listened with great coolness to this summons, and began to enter into an expla-

nation respecting his conduct. "I am not "come," said the orator, interrupting him very abruptly, "to hear your apology, but command "you in the name of the Mohammedan nation "to quit the throne: there are no other means "left by which you can save your honour and "your life." The disconsolate emperor replied: "Since it is upon my head that the divine wrath, "excited by the sins of the Mussulmen, must "fall, go tell my brother, that God has declared "his will by the mouth of the people, and that "it now belongs to him to govern, in future, the "Ottoman empire." After these words, he shut himself up in his apartment, which he never after quitted.

Mohammed IV. scarcely ever commanded his troops in person; and this, perhaps, was the cause of the revolt of the soldiers, who were thus in a manner unacquainted with him. He distinguished himself by his inclination to mercy. At the time however of the revolt, excited by the circumstances of the moment, he wished to put to death his brother, that he might deprive the rebels of that resource; but he was prevented from carrying this design into execution.

When the deputies of the rebellious soldiers carried to Solyman the intelligence of his brother's deposition, they were astonished to hear from him the following answer: "In the name of the immortal God, "why do you come to interrupt my repose? "Suffer me, I conjure you, to spend in retirement the remainder of my days. Let my "brother continue to govern the empire: it is a "right given him by nature. As for me, I was "born only to meditate on the things that be- A. D. 1685.

"long to eternal life." And it was with the greatest difficulty that he could be persuaded, at last, to comply with the wishes of the military. He seated himself on the throne not without apprehension; and while receiving the usual congratulations, he seemed every moment to expect his formidable brother with the executioners and instruments of death. At length, however, he assumed courage, and confirmed Sinan in his dignity of grand-vizier. The minister, having now need only of obedience, endeavoured to appease the rebellion of the chiefs who had co-operated with him in the revolt; but the latter, seeing themselves exposed to be punished by their former accomplices, excited the janissaries against him. They represented him as a conspirator, and an enemy to Solyman, whom he wished, they said, to dethrone. Sinan was attacked in his palace, where he made an obstinate defence, but was at length cut to pieces. The person appointed to succeed him, by the favour of the janissaries, who prescribed to the emperor whom he should choose, soon lost the confidence of that body, because he endeavoured to divide, in order to weaken them: they, however, perceived his stratagem, guessed the object he had in view, and massacred him. The people, during this insurrection, proceeded to excesses before unknown to the Turks. They violated the seraglio; carried out the women, and dragged them naked through the streets. After this act of licentiousness, nothing was respected, and the pillage of the opulent became general.

The *ulema*, that is, the body of lawyers, who by their murmurs had contributed to the degradation of the imperial dignity and to the dis-

orders that ensued, hoisted the standard of Mohammed, and dispatched couriers to every quarter to summon the Mussulmen, who wished to avoid the imputation of being infidels, to range themselves under it. Great numbers obeyed the summons. After five years of anarchy, during which the janissaries put to death those who displeased them, and created and destroyed pachas at their pleasure, a trifling circumstance, it is said, made them all return to their duty.

Four janissaries, availing themselves of their usual right, stole a few handkerchiefs in a shop. The merchants took up arms and killed the thieves. An emir affixed a white linen cloth to the end of a pole, and cried out: "Let every "true Mussulman repair to the seraglio, to beg "the sultan to hoist the standard of the prophet, "in order that the rebels may be exterminated." Among this multitude assembled round the sacred standard, were many of the most zealous promoters of the revolt; yet when the emperor asked them what had brought them hither and what they wanted, they all exclaimed, that they wished to put to death the chiefs of the mutinous soldiers, their first instigators. These were immediately given up and punished on the spot; and the multitude then quietly dispersed.

Solyman had been only a spectator of the storm, without taking any share in the management of it. He had to support a disastrous war against Germany and Venice, the misfortunes of which were attended with the most ruinous consequences, and induced him to make secret proposals for peace. The court of Vienna did not know how to take advantage of the circum-

stances of the moment; it insisted on too high terms; and, whilst starting objections to the favourable conditions offered by the Ottoman court, it saw Kiopruli Mustapha Pacha appear, who regenerated the empire. He was appointed grand-vizier, and as soon as he was installed, he assembled a council, composed of the great officers of the state, to take their opinion respecting the propriety of carrying on or relinquishing the war.

The mufti who spoke first, declared for peace. The greater part of the rest adopted the same opinion, and informed the grand-vizier that there were private envoys at the court of Vienna, who had been charged to enter into a negociation on the subject. Kiopruli severely censured their determinations, and made them resolve to continue the war. He broke off the negociation at Vienna, and made every possible exertion to collect a strong army, and to supply it with ammunition. The treasury was absolutely exhausted. He examined with severity the expenditure of the public money, raised contributions from those who were able to furnish them, caused to be returned those sums which had been fraudulently withheld from the revenue, and increased it by donations or legacies of money, which superstitious devotion had formerly bequeathed to the colleges of the imams. The chief imam considered this action as a sacrilege; but Kiopruli replied, that the riches destined for religious uses, ought to be employed in wars of religion.

This pious pretext was of wonderful assistance to him in forming his army. Before it had been found necessary to employ force in procuring recruits. Kiopruli declared, that as he intended to entrust the command to no one but himself,

he would receive no soldier who had been enlisted by violent means. None now wished to be exempted; and by a single sentence in the Koran, the vizier in a short time raised more and better soldiers than had been procured by the stratagems, violence, and threats, hitherto employed to complete the armies.

Kiopruli kept his word, put himself at the head of the main army, and while the other officers began to obtain smaller advantages, in order to inspire confidence into his troops by some brilliant action, he proceeded to lay siege to Belgrade. He took that fortress, and was preparing to prosecute his success, when the fear of the sudden death of the sultan, who was attacked by the dropsy, recalled him to Constantinople. Of this disorder that prince died in the fourth year of his reign. No emperor ever equalled him in the observance of the law: though possessed of very little genius, he read a great deal: he was extremely simple in his manners, and much fitter for the condition of a dervise than for the government of a mighty empire.

Ahmed II. a brother of Solyman had as little judgment, and as little influence in the government: he rarely ever made use of his reason, and approved every measure the instant it was proposed to him. Kiopruli placed him on the throne, that he might not behold there Mohammed IV. who was still alive, or his son Mustapha, either of whom might have avenged himself for the indirect part which the vizier had taken in the deposition of the former of these. Scarcely had Kiopruli rendered this service to Ahmed, when he was ex- A. D. 1691.

posed to the danger of being rewarded only by disgrace; but from this danger he was extricated by his courage and resolution. He began then to think of supporting his authority by some new success; and putting himself at the head of the army, marched in quest of the enemy on the banks of the Danube. When on the point of obtaining the victory, he received a ball in the head, and fell. This accident discouraged the Turks, and they abandoned the field of battle, from which they could with difficulty carry off their dying commander. The sovereign soon followed his general to the grave. As an individual, he was cheerful, lively, and agreeable; a poet and a musician, possessed of a happy temper, and incapable of doing any man an injury. If Solyman was fit only for a dervise, Ahmed, at least, in private life, would have formed a very amiable character.

A. D. 1695. Mustapha II. seemed to give new vigour to the empire, which had languished under his predecessors. The care which he took, and the exertions he made, to form the troops under his own eye, inspired the nation with the greatest hopes. He declared that he would himself lead his army against the enemy: he did so, but met with a more disgraceful and more complete defeat than the Turks had ever experienced. This misfortune induced the sultan to sue for peace. Though it was equally desired by the emperor of Germany, and the other confederate princes, the preliminaries were not easily settled, as each power, through a point of honour, was unwilling to make the first advances. This difficulty being removed, and the war terminated, the sultan, following

the example of his brother Mohammed, thought of nothing but enjoyment. He gave himself up to the chace, and left the government to his ministers, particularly the grand-vizier; who, however, deceived his hopes by his conduct, and whom therefore he sacrificed to the murmurs of the people.

Under a negligent prince cabals are formed at court, and the hatred of the people becomes more inveterate. What in other countries is attended only with the loss of favour, occasions at the Porte the death of rivals; but these murders only serve to incense the partisans of the unhappy victims. It is very uncommon, therefore, to see a reconciliation effected between them. The grand-vizier wished to get rid of the mufti; the mufti overturned the grand-vizier; and the friends of the latter laid a plan to entrap the mufti, and the new grand-vizier his protector.

By an error, in this state of confusion and alarm, the mufti and vizier neglected to pay the troops; who, therefore, revolted and took up arms at Constantinople. This mutiny was carefully concealed from the emperor, till he was told that the whole army was at the gates of the city of Adrianople, where he then resided. The janissaries demanded the persons of the ministers, whom he gave up the victims of popular fury. While the emperor was deliberating, the mutineers, certain that they might some day be punished for their conduct, invited Ahmed his brother to repair to the army.

Mustapha intercepted the letter, which threw him into great perplexity; he saw there were only two alternatives, either to resign the crown

to his brother, or to put him to death, in order to deprive the rebels of this resource. He preferred the former, and went in quest of his brother, and, embracing him with the tenderest affection, informed him that he was invited to mount the throne; saluted him as emperor; and, on taking leave, entreated him to remember the kindness which he had thus shewn him. "I beg," says he, "that you will behave in the "same manner toward me; but never forget "what those traitors are who have been the in-"struments of your elevation. If you leave "their crime unpunished, they will not fail to "treat you in like manner." After this advice, he shut himself up in the apartment which his brother had quitted; but grief and fear put an end to his life in the course of six months, after he had reigned almost eight years.

A. D. 1705. Ahmed III. did not forget his brother's advice: he accomplished all his wishes, and in the course of five months put to death more than fourteen thousand soldiers, who had taken the greatest share in the rebellion; they were carried away in the night-time, and drowned in the Bosphorus. These executions re-established tranquillity in the city, but they did not banish from the court those intrigues and cabals which in that reign produced changes, depositions, and sentences of death against the great. The affairs of the state, however, went on in their usual course, by being conducted more according to the personal interest of the ministers, than as became the glory of the empire.

A war broke out between the Porte and Russia: that with Germany and Venice was also re-

kindled. Another was carried on in Persia; and, though these military expeditions were not always unsuccessful, they reduced the empire to a state of general weakness, which was felt particularly in the capital. Scarcity and dearness of provisions; the want of trade; the burden of the troops, who in their journey from Europe to the army of Persia, behaved in Constantinople as in a conquered city; all tended to irritate the minds of men who only waited for an opportunity of shewing their displeasure: and these were the causes which produced a revolt that dethroned Ahmed, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

This enterprise was undertaken by three janissaries, each of whom associated with himself three others; and then the twelve divided themselves into three parties, each of which marched through the streets with their swords drawn, and a flag displayed, calling out: "Shut your shops. "Let every good Mussulman follow us to the "grand square, where they will be informed of "the just complaints we have to make against "the minister."

These cries brought a crowd about them, and it soon increased by the absence of those who might have suppressed the rebellion in its commencement. The sultan and the vizier were engaged in their pleasures; and the governor in planting tulips at his country retreat. The president of the courts of justice was also at one of his villas, and treated as an unimportant trifle the intelligence which was brought him. When these officers however learnt the real state of the case, they returned to Constantinople: but it

was then too late, and they were obliged to have recourse to negociation.

Ahmed sent to ask the rebels what they desired. They replied, that the grand-vizier, his lieutenant, and the governor, together with his two sons-in-law and the mufti, must be delivered up to them; that, in other respects, they were satisfied with his Highness, and wished him every happiness. The emperor begged they would be contented with their dismissal from court, but to this the mutineers would not agree. As they insisted on their demand with threats, Ahmed reluctantly determined to sacrifice the required victims. They were accordingly strangled, and their bodies delivered to the enraged multitude. The insurgents however did not mean to stop after having proceeded so far. They next sought for a pretence for depriving the sultan of his crown. This they found in the complaints, that, though they had asked for the three criminals alive, they had been sent to them dead; and for this reason they insisted on the sultan's dismission.

When he found his situation desperate, Ahmed conducted his successor to the imperial chamber, and placed him on the throne. "Remember," said he, "that your father lost the "throne which I this day resign to you, and that "I now lose it, only because we reposed too "much confidence in our viziers. Had I con-"ferred on them less authority, I should, per-"haps, have finished my reign with as much glo-"ry as I began it. Adieu. I wish yours may "be happier. I recommend to you myself and "my son." He then retired to the apartment which had been occupied by his nephew.

As the present history of the Ottoman empire

has exhibited the means of violence and blood by which the Turkish sceptre has been sustained, and as we have now contemplated it in those periods when its dominion was most extended, the remaining part of the narration will require but slight and general notice; and it will be sufficient to point out those leading events in the reign of the succeeding sovereigns, which most immediately effected the political state of the empire.

This year, which produced the rebellion of the janissaries, the deposition of Ahmed, and the elevation of his nephew Mohammed V. was in its consequences also productive of a considerable alteration in the mode of carrying on the government. A. D. 1730.

From the time of Mohammed II. it had been usual to delegate the whole administration to the vizier; but as this and the preceding rebellion had originated in the overgrown power and ambition of these officers, Mohammed, by the advice of his *Kislar Aga*, an experienced man, took the power into his own hands, and determined to change his viziers frequently.

The emperor, however, afterward confided very much in the successor of this *Kislar Aga*, a man of the utmost rapacity and insolence, who, extending his attacks both against the janissaries and the *ulema*, those bodies conspired his overthrow, and began to shew their intentions, by setting fire to Constantinople. The frequent repetition of these fires at length arousing the sultan, he consulted with the mufti, and by his advice sacrificed the kislar-aga and all his dependents, and then seized on their ill-gotten treasures, including a vast quantity of precious stones, and money to the amount of nearly two millions sterling.

The death of the kislar-aga produced another change in the administration of the government. His successor entered into a close connection with the vizier, which lasted till the death of Mohammed, when his brother Osman came from confinement to the throne; and the kislar-aga and his secretary gained the confidence of the new sovereign, and assumed all their former power.

A. D. 1754.

On the death of Osman, Mustapha III. the son of Ahmet succeeded, who deprived the kislar-aga of his place and influence, and attached to the vizierat great part of the emoluments formerly given to the kislar-aga; such as the management of the revenues of the haram, arising from large districts in Asia and Europe, and the appointment of all the officers. Since that time the viziers have been removed less frequently.

A. D. 1757.

Mustapha, determining to attack the Russians, ordered the Tartars to invade their territory. The ravages committed by these barbarian hordes were such as the late empress, who then sat on the throne, could not view but with indignation, and avenge with all her power.

A. D. 1769.

A bloody war commenced with the exploits of prince Gallitzin, who, attacking the Turks at Choczim, their intrenchments, gained a complete victory. The same general gained also another important success, near the same place, in the July following; but he was prevented, by the prudent and cautious measures of the vizier, from carrying the fortress of Choczim. The undisciplined and turbulent state of the Turkish forces, however, ill agreeing with such prudence,

the great officer was sacrificed to the clamours of the janissaries, and was succeeded by a man much inferior to him in military skill.

The new vizier, attempting to cross the Niester in the face of the enemy, on the 9th of September, was defeated by prince Gallitzin, with the loss of seven thousand men killed on the spot. A similar attempt, renewed on the 17th of that month, met with the same fortune: the Turks were defeated, and obliged to abandon Choczim; and it was supposed that these two reverses cost them thirty thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides nearly fifty thousand, who deserted the army, in its tumultuous retreat.

Prince Gallitzin, retiring with glory, resigned the command to General Romanzoff, who, having speedily overrun Moldavia and Wallachia, and received the oaths of allegiance readily offered by its inhabitants, gained two splendid victories over the Turkish forces.

The enterprising spirit of the empress led her to adopt the more striking and novel measure of sending a fleet into the Mediterranean, and thus attacking the Turkish empire on both sides; a plan which was crowned with abundant success. The inhabitants of the Morea flew to arms on the approach of the Russians. But the most brilliant action of this naval campaign was the victory of Tchesme, a harbour on the coast of Natolia, into which the Turkish fleet being driven, were all destroyed by the Russian fire-ships. These and other important successes of the Russians, forced the Turks to conclude a dishonourable peace on the 21st of July, shortly after the

A. D. 1774. death of Mustapha, and the accession of his brother Abdulhamid. This peace was the first great step toward the limitation of an empire, which, as we have seen, was originally founded, and from time to time extended by rapine and injustice. This blow was effectually followed up by the succeeding war, which terminated greatly in favour of the Russians.

A. D. 1790.

From this period the most interesting and important concerns relating to the Ottoman government are connected with the internal and civil broils, in which the celebrated Passwan Oglu, or Pazman Ohlu, has taken a very active and decided part against the regular government. It appears that in the year 1788 the sultan found it necessary to send an army of twelve thousand men against Pazman and his father, who were in open rebellion. The father was, in the sequel, obliged to make a rapid retreat across the Danube; and, after a stout resistance in an old castle, he was taken prisoner and slain.

No sooner, however, was Pazman Ohlu informed of this event, than, meditating revenge, he collected two thousand men, passed the Danube in 1789, and posted himself between Widdin and Nissa, where he kept up a correspondence with his friends at the former of these places, and on every occasion endeavoured to increase the number of his troops. Many of the inhabitants of that city joined his standard, and by degrees his army was augmented to five thousand men; while many, who remained in the town, but were dissatisfied with the bassa, or commander, promised to open the gates to him. Encouraged by these assurances, he attacked

and took the place. Having thus become master of Widdin, he committed the administration of all affairs to a certain Bekir Aga, a man above sixty years of age, and nearly related to him; but he himself repaired with his troops to join the army of the grand-vizier, Isuf Bassa, received him with friendship, and put under his command six thousand additional troops. With this force Pazman ordered him to pass the Morava, where he fell in with the imperial troops, and, after a bloody engagement, in which he lost three thousand men, he was forced to fly, and returned to Widdin, where he afterwards lived in tranquillity.

A new bassa was sent to Widdin, who demanded a reinforcement of twelve thousand men to enable him to subdue Pazman Ohlu; and a large reward was offered to whoever should send the head of the insurgent chief to Constantinople. Inflamed with this intelligence, Pazman collected his adherents, attacked and defeated the bassa, who readily agreed to the conditions of the conqueror, one of which was, that the bassa should obtain for him a pardon from the Porte. After this the bassa attempted to take his conqueror by surprise, but was again defeated with great loss. The Porte now sent out Pekmeskts Bassa with full powers to enter into a reconciliation with Pazman Ohlu. This envoy remained two years inactive, and with a narrowly circumscribed authority, at Widdin. Soon afterward appeared the edict of the sultan, by which the janissaries as well as the spahis were to be abolished, and from a part of them a regular standing army formed, like that of other surrounding nations. On this sub- A. D. 1792.

ject there were great disputes and divisions, even in the divan. The chief mufti, who was at the head of the party which opposed the measure, caused the notion to be secretly spread among the people, that this innovation was contrary to the doctrines of the Prophet, and that all true believers were not only bound not to assist in putting the decree into execution, but were even enjoined to oppose it with all their power. The janissaries, however, who had behaved ill in defending some fortified places against the Austrians and Russians, were notwithstanding all opposition, driven, with the loss of all their goods, from their dwellings; and the mountaineers, who had offered their services to put the sultan's order in force, were appointed to supply their places. Pazman Ohlu did not suffer so favourable an opportunity to pass without turning it to his advantage; he declared himself the defender of the janissaries and spahis, and thus every where acquired a great number of adherents. The opposition party in the divan sided with him; and the janissaries, and all the malecontents throughout the empire, looked up to him as their guardian and protector.

A. D. 1794. Another commissioner, Hassi Mufti Bassa, was sent to Widdin, to endeavour to come to terms with Pazman. Hassi spoke of the clemency of the sultan, and entered Widdin without any guard; but the attempt to bring about an accommodation failed, and in the following year Pazman had already greatly extended his power. He sent a detachment of one thousand men to surprise Nicopolis, in which the first attempt was unsuccessful; but the town was forced to surrender, after a siege of twenty

days. In the same year Pazman sent against Belgrade the janissaries who had been disbanded. After a number of men had fallen on both sides, the janissaries succeeded in taking the city and old castle; but in the July following, after Hassan, then bassa of Belgrade, had long employed all his forces against them in vain, the janissaries were again, during a bloody conflict, driven out by the Servians and Kerschaliks. A. D. 1796.

The sultan now ordered Rumeli Wallesi, then principal officer of the empire next to the grand-vizier, to attack, in conjunction with the bassa of Belgrade and four other bassas, the rebel Pazman. An army was collected for that purpose, consisting of fifty thousand men; but the rebellious commander had with him for his defence at least forty thousand adherents. He was also strongly intrenched in the city of Widdin, which he had taken care to supply sufficiently with provisions and ammunition. After many fruitless attacks, in which a great number of the Grand Signior's troops perished, Rumeli Wallesi again offered terms to Pazman; and promised to obtain his pardon at the Porte, on his paying a considerable sum of money. This proposition was approved by the Porte, and the treaty seems to have been actually concluded; and, after a siege of three months, the Grand Signior's troops decamped from before Widdin.

Pazman, however, made use of this opportunity to strengthen his party, and to add new fortifications to the city: he then sent large detachments of troops against Nicopolis, Adrianople, and Sophia, on the one side, and against Belgrade on the other. Nicopolis A. D. 1797.

and Adrianople surrendered: but at Belgrade and Sophia the assailants were defeated with great loss, and several hundreds taken prisoners, who were all executed as traitors. After this the grand-vizier himself received a commission from the Porte to collect a large army for the purpose of annihilating the daring and contumacious rebel. He assembled about 60,000 men, with whom he besieged Widdin. But Pazman had put himself into the best posture of defence; being strongly entrenched, with excellent batteries, and a well-supplied artillery. The sultan's troops encamped around the city; but were not able to approach close to it. Pazman made frequent and successful sallies; and by degrees gained over a large party, even in the grand-vizier's camp. At last the whole situation of the besiegers having been betrayed to him, he sallied forth and attacked them in the night, killed 6000 men, and so quickly dispersed the whole army, that the grand-vizier himself was obliged to leave his baggage behind him, and order his camp to be set on fire.

A. D. 1798.

In the treaty of alliance which was soon after concluded between the Turks and the Russians, one of the conditions was, that Russia should, if required, furnish an auxiliary army of 40,000 men against Pazman Ohlu, to whom, however, very favourable terms of reconciliation were again offered. The Russian troops that were assembled on the borders of Wallachia, added considerable weight to the propositions of the Porte; and at length an agreement took place, by which the Grand Signior was obliged to reinstate the janissaries in their former possessions,

to permit Pazman Ohlu to remain in Widdin as governor, and to raise him to the dignity of Bassa with Three Tails. Hostages were given on both sides for the due performance of the treaty, which, however, was little regarded. Pazman still continued an object of terror to the Porte. The pacha of Romelia, known in Turkey under the name of "the man of terror," made many attempts against this commander, but they all proved abortive. In an engagement with him the pacha was defeated, and obliged to retreat. The intelligence of this caused an extraordinary meeting of the divan at Constantinople, in which it was resolved to deprive Pazman Ohlu of all his dignities, and declare him a most dangerous rebel against the Porte; at the same time the Grand Signior determined to send a numerous army, headed by the best officers, against him. In this contest, however, the imperial forces were completely defeated, with the loss of the military chest, nine pieces of cannon, and all the stores and provisions of the Ottoman army; and in killed and wounded to a very considerable extent.* A. D. 1800.

In this year a serious and truly alarming insurrection broke out in Belgrade, and which seemed to be only a part of a very extensive plan; and the same spirit has since shewn itself at Constantinople, Adrianople, Philippoli, Nissa, and other places, where the A. D. 1801.

* While this volume is passing through the press, a new treaty has been concluded with that daring rebel Pazman Ohlu, on terms highly favourable to him and his adherents. Whether it will be observed with more fidelity than former ones, will most likely depend on the views and interests of his former abettors and secret supporters.

inhabitants have at different times arisen upon the magistrates, dividing into parties and fighting most furiously. Civil war, probably fomented by the French who had invaded Egypt, or the effects of the principles they disseminated, appeared likely to become general throughout Turkey; and had it not been for the assistance of the English, and the regard which was paid by them to its interests in the late pacification, the Ottoman Porte would probably, ere now, have ceased to exist as an independent state. Both in Asia and Europe, indeed, it is composed only of conquered nations. Few of them are interested in the preservation of its integrity; and there are none really attached to the government, but the great who command, the soldiers who are paid by it, and, in general, those whom the police or religion invest with authority. Hence, the first war in which it may be involved with any of the powerful European nations, will easily effect its dissolution, unless prevented by the jealousy of the rest.

END OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME, OR THE THIRD OF THE MODERN PART.